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THE MAROONS.

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

THE RETREAT.

ABOUT a couple of hours after the four slaves had parted from one another, a faint white streak, trembling in the eastern horizon, indicated the break of day. The birds, quitting their nests, began to warble the news of its approach, from shrub to shrub, making the woods ring with their varied melody. It was the spring time of the year; if there could be such a thing as a season in an island where the climate was always warm; where fruits and flowers were always to be had in abundance, and the grass was ever green. The loveliness of the morning was enhanced by a delicious breeze, laden with the scent of a thousand flowers, which stirred the leaves into a whisper, seeming like the generating breath of the Creator of life. And now the sun raised his glorious face above the sea, tinting the clouds with the most gorgeous hues, and giving the signal for the general waking up of animated nature.

Every living object appeared to rejoice in the cascade as it rushed down the hill side; the limped brook, as it caressed the grass on its banks; the dewdrop, sparkling on the leaves, and trickling from the flowers; the butterfly, fluttering with gaudy wings from bud to blossom; the palm tree, swaying its fan-like branches, the guava, its myriads of rose-bunches: birds, insects, trees, nature herself, every thing rejoiced, and seemed to breathe happiness in this terrestrial paradise—except the unfortunate negro.

Yes, alas! He alone! For this hour,

blessed to all, save himself, is the hour which disabuses him of the happiness he has enjoyed during the night; which recalls him to a sense of the rigours of his sad lot; which reminds him that he is the slave of a new-born day, bringing with it labour, fatigue, and blows. It is the hour at which his voice is lifted to Heaven, not in prayer, but in loud complaints. It is the hour at which he is habitually brought up to the whipping-post to be scourged till he writhes in torment. It is the hour, in a word, at which the master, after taking, on the previous evening, an account of the day's shortcomings, inflicts his terrible chastisements, as offerings to the rising sun.

Where are we? Before us, near a handsome house, opposite a long avenue of pine-plants, is a sugar-house, on the borders of a cane-field, rich in saccharine reeds, swaying to and fro their silky blossoms from the house to the mountain side. To the right, flanked by sheds and store-houses, cabins and log huts of the negroes, is a long and vast square of clove and nutmeg shrubs, arranged in symmetrical order, whilst separated from these only by a hedge of tropical trees, surrounding the whole as in a frame, may be seen alleys of cocoa-trees with their long red fruit, and plantations of the coffee shrub, each of which seems to be on the point of breaking beneath the weight of its branches of berries. To the left are smaller plantations, having dense masses of wood in the back-ground: then come the paddocks, the stables, the fowl-houses, the long walks, the gardens full of flowers, and the orchard, through which a small river runs shining in the sun. We are within the precincts of one of those colonial domains, whose varied and

rich productions seem to set description at defiance.

In the midst of so much opulence and outward magnificence, let us look at those poor negroes, scarcely decently clad, hollow-eyed, and gaunt-framed, who, though nearly starved, are labouring under the whip like brute beasts. Above all, let us cast our eyes in the direction of a spot called the platform, yonder, not far from the house, and what do we see? Three men, bound down to the ground, with their faces downwards, and their limbs extended, whilst others, excited by the threats of the overseer and the master, scourge them with long whips; blow after blow falling on their poor writhing bodies, until the blood flows around them, and their flesh is cut into ribbons. But not a cry! not a groan! There is, then, in their hearts something stronger than pain? Yes! Some sentiment which rises superior to their bodily sufferings, enabling them to endure the tortures that are being inflicted upon them, with the courage of the martyr who sees Heaven opening before his eyes.

But their tormentors have discontinued flogging them! Whither are those three negroes out of the four who separated last night going to be conducted? A dungeon behind the boiling-house is opened! It is dark and foul, and has a rank, pestiferous atmosphere. It is not sufficient to thrust them in this living tomb: they are put into a kind of pillory, their feet fastened between two massive beams in such wise that they are almost crushed. Bodily pain is thus made to increase their despair, and yet not a word has escaped from their lips!

But the executioners of the master's brutal orders withdraw.

At length the Amboilama breaks silence, addressing his companions:

"Forgive me, broders," he says, in a mournful voice, and as though he took upon himself the blame of their sufferings, and had not shared in them: "yes, forgive me. I didn't do right to 'dvide you to come back to dis place."

The Antacime sighs. It is a sigh more eloquent than speech. The Sacalave seems to have heard nothing, but in a deep, hollow voice he mutters a few disconnected words, amongst which may be distinguished these:

"Blood! Dungeon! Pillory! Vengeance!"

The last word is followed by such an exclamation, or rather by such a roar of rage, that the Amboilama endeavours to calm him:

"Yes, broders, I didn't do right. But who was to know de overseer find out we gone away, and tell massa?"

The Sacalave still seems to hear nothing, and repeats in a more distinct manner, but in the same deep, hollow voice, the awful words:

"Blood! Pillory! Dungeon! Vengeance!" He presently adds, ironically, and in a tone of rage:

"No! We aint to hab revenge! We got to keep on sufferin! To hold down our heads, and kiss de feet of de masters dat is murdering us ebery day."

"Yes! dey be butchers," resumes the Amboilama. "But, broders, patience yet a little while longer. We get out o' deir hands some day. If 'taint to-day, perhaps it'll be to-morrow. But some day for sure."

"Ha!" says the Antacime, speaking in a tone of deep regret; "broder Creole did well not to come back. He hasn't got flogged. He isn't in de dungeon and de pillory like we. He free in de woods. He's all so much happier than we."

"Mustn't say so, broder Antacime," replies the Amboilama, reproachfully, but kindly. "Our broder gone maroonin! Perhaps he's killed or caught. We been whipped, and we now in de pillory in de black-hole; but it's all over now. We got no more to be 'fraid of. He got all to come, and may be worse than we. We goin' to try to get away from dis place. I says we 'termined to do it, and dey may catch us if dey can. We goin' to take de little boat, and put to sea for home."

The sound of footsteps approaching, and of keys opening the doors of the dungeon, causes the conversation to cease. Meanwhile, what has become of the Creole? Is he in a better position?

Differing from his companions in intention, the Capre did not, on quitting the tamarind-tree, make off in the same direction as they did; for whilst they, yielding to the suggestion of the Amboilama, returned to their quarters, intending to remain there only one day longer, he, not having entered into their projected sea-expedition, and probably foreseeing the reception that awaited them, made direct for the Salazes, according to the determination he had expressed of turning maroon.

From the spot where the four friends had met, to the spur of the Salazian mountains, the extreme distance did not exceed three miles in a direct line. It did not seem far, but it took the fugitive quite two hours to accomplish it. Nevertheless, he made all speed to quit the plain, which was too open to render it safe for him to remain in it any longer than was absolutely necessary. The path, however, was tortuous, and obstructed by brushwood, thorns, and a thick under-growth, through which he had to force his way; and then he had to cross the dangerous torrents of the mountain; so that by the time he reached the foot of these terrible Salazian mountains, day had already broke.

Yet here his real struggle for liberty com-

menced, and he required increased strength and courage to accomplish his attempt at escape. Fatigued as he was, he was resolved not to give way, and accordingly commenced the ascent of the rocky giant, which rose almost perpendicularly above him. Sometimes crawling on his hands and knees, sometimes dragging himself flat along the ground, at other times scrambling up the side by means of the sharp points of the granite rock, he might have been seen gradually toiling towards the summit, appearing from the plain like an ant clambering up the side of a sugar-loaf. But beneath him was a deep chasm, into which, if he lost his foot-hold, he must be precipitated, and come to a horrible death; and yet he had nothing to hold by, save a few stray tufts of grass, or a weed here and there, or a huge stone. Still he went on.

At length he reached a point where the mountain, taking a sudden turn, and forming a kind of elbow, left above him nothing save a smooth, vertical surface. What should he do now? How could he get higher? He wished to go down again; but this was impossible, for to attempt it was to expose himself to the certainty of a fearful fall. He durst not move his hands, and his feet sought in vain the slender resting-place they had quitted. Thus suspended, unable to ascend or to descend; held in the air at a frightful height, almost as it were by a thread, he felt that his hour was come, and that he must fall to the bottom of the precipice. A profuse perspiration broke out over his body; his breathing became short and painful; his heart beat heavily; his fingers were gradually losing their hold; his muscles were relaxing; his strength was leaving him; he gasped—"I am lost!"

But no! One desperate effort, and he is saved. Resting one of his feet upon a projecting point, and extending the other horizontally, he gave a great leap, at the same time releasing his hold, and succeeded in attaining a salient angle of the mountain, to his left, where he sank exhausted.

He remained here some minutes, trembling with excitement, and meditating even now in fear on the great peril he had just escaped. Nor did he fail to reproach himself bitterly for not adopting the same resolution as his companions. His self-reproaches were all the more severe, when he reflected that his absence from quarters before they had got safely away, might prevent them from carrying out their project, whilst his own seemed now likely to fail also. He became so sad, that at one moment he had almost made up his mind to retrace his steps the best way he could, and return to his master. But with the idea of his master, arose the recollection of the dreadful punishment that awaited him, and the thought at once inspired him with fresh courage. He

arose, looking about him, and seeing a practicable ascent, he recommenced his journey, and soon gained a narrow crevice formed by the dried bed of the mountain torrent. He was now on one of the lower crests of the Salazians.

He would gladly have rested here, but having eaten nothing since the previous evening, and being now nearly exhausted for want of sustenance, and his appetite sharpened by fatigue and the clear mountain air, he was obliged to look about for wherewith to stay the cravings of nature. He could find nothing but a few wild strawberries and raspberries, which seemed rather to increase his hunger than to allay it. At length, after scrambling up another crest, he came to a hollow where there were several date-trees, guavas, bananas, and others similar, all laden with fruit. Great was his joy, and gratefully did he proceed to eat of the delicious fruit. Scarcely, however, had he devoured a few branches, with the glutony of fierce hunger, than he heard the loud baying of hounds, not far from the place where he sat.

"Negro hunters!" he ejaculated, in mortal terror; and at the same instant, starting to his feet, he took to flight in the opposite direction.

But it was in vain, and too late. The hounds had scented him, and, following up his track, they soon overtook him. Assailed by four of these terrible animals at once, and compelled to defend himself against their fierce attacks, he fought with all the courage of desperation, seeking, meanwhile, an opportunity of escaping from them, for he dreaded the approach of their masters. As he fought, he drew back, step by step, never giving it a thought that he was on one of the crests of the mountain, and that a frightful precipice was behind him. He disappeared all at once!

The hounds, disappointed at losing their prey, looked over the abyss, and gave a loud howl, and at the same moment, two men, armed with long guns, came running up to them at the top of their speed.

"He's gone headlong down," said one to the other, as they both peeped down into the chasm.

"Never mind," observed his companion: "we shall find him at the bottom, and shall at least get the premium for his hand."

So saying, they took a narrow path, with which they seemed familiar, and which led them by a less steep descent to the base of the rock.

Great was their astonishment at not finding the body of the Maroon. They sought it everywhere, setting their hounds to do the same; but their search proved fruitless. So they came to the conclusion that the body of the unfortunate fugitive had

fallen across a ledge of the rock, in the flank of the mountain, and as the ascent was too precipitous, they concluded to leave it there, for they were afraid to venture in search of it. They therefore whistled off their hounds, and started for another point of the range, to continue their hunt after Maroons.

THE KNOWNOTHINGS.

We extract from the *Empire* of the 9th ult. the following article, which will be found to contain an account of the rise and progress of this extraordinary party, whose power and influence have been so openly manifested in the late State elections of the United States.

" We more than suspect that the vast majority of the good people of this monarchical country, who are accustomed to classify the politicians of the nation under the heads of Whigs and Conservatives, Protectionists and Free-Traders, Tories and Radicals, are utter strangers to the existence of the numerous parties, and sub-divisions of parties, that in the mass make up the great body of the political community in the Republic of the United States. Many of them, doubtless, have heard of political organisations called WHIGS and DEMOCRATS, and some of a third party, denominated FREE-SOILERS; but who amongst them have heard of sections and sub-sections of these parties, bearing the names respectively of Loco Focos, Barnburners, Pewter-muggers, Anti-Renters, Soft Shells, Hard Shells, Old Fogies, Woolly-heads, Manifest-destiny Men, Fillibusters, the Order of the Lone Star, Fire-eaters, Silver-greys, Hunker Democrats, Conscience Whigs, Buffalo Platform Men, Adamantines, &c. &c. ?

" A year ago, all these denominations were to be found within the limits of two great contending parties—the Democrats and the Whigs; the latter being the descendants from, and representatives of, the Federalists of the days of Jay, Hamilton, Madison, and Fisher Ames; the former the disciples of Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, and John C. Calhoun. The Whigs may be described as the Conservatives, and the Democrats as the Radicals of America. Owing to the growth of anti-slavery feeling and opinion in the free States, a third political party has come into being. The members of this are persons who have belonged to the Whig or the Democratic section, but are now detached from them, being unable to sympathise in the pro-slavery doctrines and measures of either, and are content to wait until the spread and triumph of their own opinions shall raise them to the possession of the power and emoluments which attach to office in the State, or in the national Government. This third section was first called the Liberty Party, then the Free-soil Party, then the Free Democracy, and now bears the name of the Republican Party. While each of these three parties agree among themselves on all matters which are fundamental and essential to united action or general policy, they disagree on numerous minor matters, and hence the various strange, amusing, and, to Englishmen generally, unintelligible names which we have already partially enumerated.

" In addition to Whigs, Democrats, and Republicans, a new party has within a year sprung into existence, and has already succeeded in revolutionising the politics of the country. We will endeavour to shed some light upon the origin of this singular political organization, and in doing so we shall be indebted to an interesting account of this body given by the *Times* in September last. In 1835 a party was formed, under the name of the Native-American Association, the principal avowed object of which was the correction of the alleged abuses of the naturalization laws, and the exclusion of persons of foreign birth from offices under the national and State Governments. The active life of this party was not of long duration, and it failed altogether in accomplishing any of the ends for which it was originated. The early part of the present year witnessed the resuscitation of the elements of this party, with great additional strength and numbers, under the name of the KNOWNOTHINGS. Its place of birth is a mystery—the names of its founders and leaders are a mystery—in fact, all concerning it is inexplicable and inscrutable. Its name is said to be derived from a portion of the oath taken by its members, who swear that they will know nothing at variance with the duties they owe to their native country. The chief of those duties, in their estimation, are the uprooting of the power of the Roman Catholics in America, and the exclusion from political office of all who are not the children of American soil. It is a secret association, whose adherents are united, by oath, in inviolable fidelity and absolute obedience. Its organization, judging from recent results, is universal and perfect. Its members are well armed and disciplined, and communicate by secret signs and symbols. In taking part in elections, they start no candidate of their own, but throw the weight of their influence into the scale of the man who comes nearest to their own views. Remembering that the society is a secret one, it is therefore easy to perceive how important an influence it exercises over the elections. By abstaining from presenting themselves as a target, they elude attack, while their power is wielded most efficiently in the dark. They have fallen like a shell into the midst of the democratic camp. From the Declaration of Independence, foreigners had almost invariably allied themselves to that party, and to repudiate foreigners now would unquestionably cause its dissolution. One of the earliest triumphs of the Knownothings was in the beginning of September, when they defeated one of the oldest and most distinguished of the democratic party, Thomas H. Benton, who was a candidate for the representation in Congress of the city of St. Louis, in the State of Missouri. Since this election, the progress of the Knownothings has been one of uninterrupted victory. We will copy from the *Boston Liberator* an account of the State election for Massachusetts, on the 13th ultimo. ' Previous to the election,' says this journal, ' who was so wild, or so enthusiastic, as to dream that a party unheard of at the last election, with a self-chosen cognomen as ridiculous as satire itself could invent, operating through invisible agencies, avowing no other object than that of proscribing men on account of their foreign birth and peculiar religious faith, afraid or unwilling to hold a single meeting, and

burrowing in secret, like a mole in the dark, would suddenly spring up, snap asunder the strongest ties of party, enlist under its banner the most incongruous elements, absorb the elective strength of the State, and carry every thing before it with the sweep of a whirlwind, leaving only the smallest fragments of the three parties which were struggling for supremacy? Yet such is the literal fact. Nothing like it can be found in the political history of the country. Even now, with the figures staring us in the face, it seems almost incredible. The Whig party is utterly broken—the Democratic party annihilated, and the Republican party nowhere.' The Knownothings elected their candidate for Governor, by a vote of 81,000 against the Whig candidate, who received 27,000, the Democratic candidate, who received 13,000, and the Republican candidate, who received 7000; thus having a clear majority of 34,000 over the united votes of the three opposing parties! Of members to the State Senate they have elected 39, or ALL. Of members to the State General Assembly they have elected 351, to six Whigs, one Democrat, and one Republican! ALL their eleven candidates for seats in the United States' Congress have been elected. The Boston *Evening Telegraph*, commenting on this most extraordinary and startling phenomenon in the political world, says that 'seventy-seven per cent. of the Free-soilers have disappeared, sixty-two per cent. of the Democrats, and fifty-five per cent. of the Whigs!'

"We have left ourselves no room to express any opinion on the declared objects of the Knownothing party, or for speculations upon the probable issues of the new and unprecedented political combinations to which their successes will inevitably lead; but we cannot conclude our present notice without a reference to the opinions they have published to the world through their newspaper organs on the great question of Slavery. The Boston *Knownothing* desires that it should be understood that the principles of its party are as diverse from those of the Republican, or Anti-slavery party, as day and night, 'We are opposed,' it says, 'to the agitation of the question of Slavery in Congress, and hold that it should be left to the slave States, exclusively, to determine or not whether Slavery shall have an existence, its manner, and how long.' The Knownothings emphatically repudiate a coalition with the political Abolitionists. The New-York organ of the party, the *Knownothing Standard*, assures the slaveholders that it is opposed to every thing like abolitionism, and will know no distinction between North and South; and another journal, at Washington, the *American Organ*, promises to oppose all agitation of the question of Slavery, whether in Congress or out of it. Notwithstanding these declarations and assurances, the fact is established, by the election returns, that a considerable number of free-soil candidates have been sent to Congress by the votes of the Knownothings. Out of eleven representatives elected for the state of Massachusetts, six, or a majority, are avowed opponents of the extension of Slavery, and of the Fugitive Slave law, and in favour of the repeal of the Nebraska Bill and other anti-slavery measures. Let us hope that these men will not desert their principles when in the halls of Washington, but

labour assiduously, to the extent to which their views of the obligations they owe to the constitution will allow them, to free their country from the curse and infamy of a system which, while it endures, will cast reproach upon republican professions, and be the fertile cause of national discord and division."

THE SLAVE-TRADE AND SLAVERY.

DEPUTATION OF FRIENDS.

In the *Reporter* for March 1854 we referred to the visit of a deputation from the Society of Friends to the President and the Governor of the United States of America, for the purpose of presenting an address of the Yearly Meeting, held in London in 1849, on the subject of the Slave-trade and Slavery.

We have been favoured with a pamphlet on the subject of that Address, entitled: *Proceedings in relation to the presentation of the Address of the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, on the Slave-trade and Slavery, to Sovereigns and those in authority in the Nations of Europe, and in other parts of the world where the Christian Religion is professed.*

From this publication we have made the following summary:

At the Yearly Meeting of 1848, a minute was passed, commanding the whole subject of the African slave-trade, as well as the abominations of the system of Slavery, to the serious attention of the meeting for Sufferings. The latter meeting, by a minute passed on the 1st of December 1848, commended it to the consideration and warm sympathy of Friends generally; and at a Meeting for Sufferings, held the 5th of January 1849, a special meeting for the above purpose was appointed to be held on the 23d of February then next, to which the country correspondents and other members of this meeting were invited. At the meeting then held, it was agreed to address the nations of Europe and elsewhere with a declaration of a Christian testimony against the slave-trade and Slavery; and a Committee was appointed to prepare the address.

The draft of the address was read at a Special Meeting for Sufferings held on the 19th of May 1849, and it was directed to be presented to the Yearly Meeting, which was accordingly done.

The disposal of the address was also brought under consideration, when William Forster (now deceased) consented to be the bearer of the address.

The following is a copy:

"It having pleased the Lord to bring our fathers to a sense of the cruelty and wickedness of the African slave-trade, and of the injustice of holding their fellow-men in Slavery, they were strengthened to act upon the conviction wrought on their minds; they set at liberty those they

held in bondage, and, in their faithfulness, they enjoyed the answer of a good conscience towards God. In that love which comes from Him their hearts were enlarged in love to their neighbour, and they could not rest without endeavouring to bring others to that sense of justice and mercy to which the Lord had brought them. From that time to the present day we have felt it to be laid upon us as a church to bear a testimony against the sin of Slavery.

" We have believed it to be our Christian duty to represent the wrongs inflicted upon the people of Africa, and repeatedly to plead the cause of the slave in addresses to our own Government. We rejoice and are thankful at the progress which has been made in this country and in other nations in this cause of righteousness. Hundreds of thousands of slaves have been restored to liberty, and many of the nations of the civilized world are now, to a large extent, delivered from the guilt of the African slave-trade—a trade which the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, pronounced to be 'a scourge which desolates Africa, degrades Europe, and afflicts humanity'; and for the suppression of which laws have been enacted. But our hearts are sorrowful in the consideration that this traffic is still carried on to a large extent, and that a vast amount of the population of the western world is still subject to the cruelty and the wrong of Slavery. We desire to cherish this sympathy, and that we may behold the increase of it among all men everywhere.

" One God is the Creator of us all: His eyes are in every place, beholding the evil and the good. He will bring every work to judgment, and every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil. The families of the earth are all of one blood; all partakers in the same corrupt nature consequent upon the fall of man; all are alike subject to infirmity, disease, and death, and all amenable to the same judgment after death. In the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ there is no respect of persons: He tasted death for every man: all distinctions of country, tongue, and colour are merged in the immensity of that love in which the Father has sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world. Wherever the religion of the gospel of Christ obtains its proper place within us, it softens our hearts, it brings man into fellow-feeling with his fellow-man, it brings him to regard every man as a brother, and to look upon the nations of the earth as all of one family. Among the millions of mankind there is not one beneath the notice of our Father who is in heaven. If we be partakers of His love, it leads us into pity for the forlorn, the helpless, and the oppressed, and it constrains us to do what we can to mitigate the pain and to assuage the sorrows of those who are in suffering, to befriend the friendless, and to labour for the improvement of the condition of the most degraded of our race.

" We are now assembled in our Yearly Meeting for the promotion of charity and godliness among ourselves, and, according to our measure, for the spreading of truth and righteousness upon the earth. The condition of the natives of Africa, as affected by the continuance of the slave-trade, and that of the slaves in North and South

America, and on the islands adjacent to that continent, have again awakened our sympathy. We believe it to be a duty laid upon us to plead the cause of these our fellow-men. We submit to the consideration of all those in authority in the nations which take upon them the name of Christ the utter incompatibility of Slavery with the Divine law, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'; 'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' These were the precepts of our Lord. He spoke as never man spoke, and of His words He declared, 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.' They are the law of God's righteousness to all generations. We submit whether, without breaking this law, it be possible for man to hold or to claim a right to property in the person of his fellow-man?—whether, admitting the supreme authority of this law, man can buy or sell his brother?—whether he can withhold from those who labour for him that which is just and equal?—whether the forced and uncompensated labour of the negro slave be not the breaking of this law?—in short, whether any man, or any of the nations of men, can, in any one of these things, violate the law of the Lord and be guiltless?

" For the space of 300 years the trade in slaves has been carried on from Africa to the opposite shores of the Atlantic, and this traffic in the persons of men is still prosecuted with unrelenting and unmitigated cruelty: year by year countless multitudes are torn from all that they hold dear in life to pass their days in toil and misery. Men are still to be found so hardened in heart, so bent upon the gain of oppression, and so devoid of all that we deem the common feelings of humanity, as to spend their time and talents in pursuit of this criminal commerce. We forbear to enter in detail upon the large variety of human suffering inseparable from this complicated iniquity, but we trust we do not take too much upon ourselves in asking those whom we now address to open their ears to the groaning of the oppressed, and to give themselves to sympathy with their sufferings; to think upon the war, and rapine, and bloodshed attendant upon the capture of slaves in the interior of Africa—upon what they are made to endure in their transit to the coast, and in their passage across the ocean; and not to shrink from making themselves acquainted with the horrors and loathsomeness of the slave-ship; to follow the poor, helpless, unoffending negro, if he survive the suffering of the voyage, and to think upon his condition when landed upon a foreign shore, and entered upon a life of hard and hopeless servitude—it may be, to be worked to death in his early manhood, or to live to behold his children subjected to the same degradation and oppression as himself.

" Blessed is the man that considereth the poor. The blessing of the Lord resteth upon him who, knowing the evil which attends his neighbour's lot in life, is stretching forth his hand for the relief of his poverty and distress; and His blessing is upon those who, like the patriarch of old, are inquiring into the sorrows and hardships of the poor, the fatherless, and those that have none to help them. 'The cause which I knew not,' said he, 'I searched out.'

"Our sympathies are awakened not for the native African alone, and the victims of the African slave-trade, but we feel for those who are living and labouring in a state of Slavery, who were born in Slavery, and possibly may die subject to its privation and its hardship. In those countries in which this system is upheld by law, man is degraded to the condition of a beast of burden, and regarded as an article of merchandise. The slave has nothing in life that he can call his own; his physical powers, the limbs of his body, belong to another; it can scarcely be said that the faculties of his mind are his own. All that distinguishes him as a rational creature is, by the law of the State, treated as the property of another. He may be a man fearing God, and desiring to approve himself a disciple of Christ; we believe that there are such. Whatever the consistency of his character as a Christian, and however advanced in the cultivation of his mind, all avails him nothing: he is still a slave, and the law allows him nothing to look to in life but hopeless, helpless, friendless Slavery. Endowed by his Maker with capacity for enjoyment like other men, he has his social affections, he may be honourably married, and in married life surrounded by offspring dear to him as his own flesh, but he knows not the day nor the hour in which he may be torn from his wife, or in which his children, at their tender age, may be snatched away, sold to the man-trader, and carried into far distant captivity. So long as Slavery is upheld by law, we can have no security for the extinction of a trade in slaves. Such are the contingencies of the system under every modification of which it is capable, that until Slavery be abolished, men, women, and children will, we fear, be imported from Africa, and be bought and sold like the cattle of the field, and the barbarities of the slave-market will continue to pollute the towns and villages of those islands in the West Indies in which Slavery exists, and in the slaveholding countries of America.

"The subject is so vast, and of such manifold atrocity, we think, that even the history of the whole world does not furnish a parallel to its crime. We deem it scarcely possible for a man of the most comprehensive mind fully to possess himself of the extent of evil. The Lord alone doth know—none but the Infinite Mind can comprehend the individual and the aggregate sufferings of those subjected to these enormities. God alone can reach the heart, and awaken the conscience. It is our strong desire,—we speak with reverence and fear,—it is our prayer, that He may bring every one to a sense of his own share in the guilt, and that, ceasing from his iniquity, the condemnation resting upon the man-stealer, and upon those who trade in the persons of men, may no longer attach itself to any one bearing the name of a Christian; and that the slaveholder, whether he be more or less involved in the sin of oppression, may be brought to act in obedience to the law of impartial and uncompromising equity, and, without hesitation and without delay, restore to immediate and unconditional freedom every slave that he holds in bondage.

"The gospel of Christ is precious to us. Through the mercy of God to our souls we trust we are prepared, in some degree, to appreciate

the means which, in His wisdom and love, He has provided for the redemption of the world and the reconciling of man to himself. In the word of ancient prophecy, Christ was promised that in him all the families of the earth might be blessed. We cannot but entertain the opinion that the enlightenment of multitudes of the inhabitants of Africa, and their participation in the privileges and the consolations of the Christian religion, have been much retarded by the evil deeds of many who have gone among them, and especially that the cruelty and the wickedness of the slave-trade have done much to keep them in ignorance of Him who died for them. In that love which extends over sea and land, and seeks the happiness of the whole human race, we make our appeal to those with whom it lies, and respectfully press upon them to take their part, in accordance with the peaceable religion of Christ, in removing every impediment out of the way, that, through the grace of God, the African, of every tribe and every tongue, may be brought to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus.

"May it please the Lord Almighty to bless those who reign, and those who are in authority, in every nation in which Christianity is acknowledged. May His wisdom preside in all their councils, and the law of His righteousness be the rule of their actions! May the Prince of Peace, Christ Jesus our Saviour, be honoured wherever His name is known! May His holy religion obtain its rightful influence in the earth, and the people become prepared to offer praise to God in the language uttered by the heavenly host—'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men.'

"Signed in and on behalf of the Meeting,
"GEORGE STACEY, Clerk to the Meeting."

From a report of the Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings appointed to attend to the presentation of the address, we gather the following information:

On the 22d of June 1849, William Forster, accompanied by Peter Bedford and Josiah Forster, proceeded to the Hague. They were detained there nearly two weeks in consequence of the absence of the King of Holland, during which time they got the address printed in the French and Dutch languages. As there seemed no probability of the King's early return, they placed a copy of the address in the hands of the Prime Minister, who undertook its presentation. Copies were also laid before the members of the Government, and handed to several members of the first and second chambers, and to other persons of influence. The deputation also visited Amsterdam, Utrecht, Arnhem, Haarlem, Leyden, and Rotterdam, at each of which towns they presented, or forwarded, the paper to the burgomaster, members of the town councils, Protestant and Roman-Catholic ministers, influential men, civil and ecclesiastical, and to other persons of influence; leaving at Leyden a sufficient supply for the professors

in that university, addressed to them. From Rotterdam several small parcels of the address were forwarded to most of the principal towns in the kingdom which they had not visited. In many of the distributions in Holland there was given with it a small pamphlet, translated into the Dutch language, containing some information on the present state of the slave-trade and Slavery. From Holland they proceeded to Brussels, where an opportunity was readily granted to see the King of the Belgians, to whom the address was read in English, and by whom it was kindly and attentively received. The deputation returned to England on the 24th of July.

On the 30th of August William Forster, accompanied by John Marsh, of Dorking, left Dover for Hanover, where they arrived on the 3d of September. A translation of the paper into German was printed in that city, and a copy forwarded to the King. Another was presented to the Crown Prince, to whom it was read: it was also given to the principal Ministers of State, and other copies were distributed in that city. Messrs. Forster and Marsh then proceeded by way of Hamburg and Copenhagen to Gothenburg. As the season was advancing, they thought it best to go forward to Stockholm, and went across Sweden by inland navigation, and afterwards up the Baltic to that city, which they reached about the 18th of September. They were detained there several weeks in consequence of the King not being returned from a visit to his dominions in Norway. An early opportunity was obtained after the arrival of King Oscar at Stockholm to present the address to him, and he received it very kindly. An edition of 1500 copies of a Swedish translation was printed in that city. The address was afterwards presented to other members of the Royal Family. Copies were freely distributed amongst the Ministers of the Crown, and to other persons of influence; it was forwarded to the governors of the twenty-four provinces; a liberal supply was sent for the professors of the two universities at Upsala and Lund, and 150 copies for the upper students in the former, and 50 for those in the latter. The ecclesiastical officers in Sweden were also supplied, and copies in Danish were forwarded to the governor of the provinces of Norway, from an edition in that language which had been printed at Copenhagen. The address was freely distributed among the influential inhabitants of Gothenburg, and supplies were sent to the islands of Gothland and Oland. They returned to Copenhagen on the 1st of November, where the address was presented to the King of Denmark. It was distributed in that city, and amongst the bishops of the Lutheran Church, and the members of the university of Copenhagen. Two parcels

were sent to Iceland, and many copies were given away in Sleswick and Holstein. In Hamburg they delivered the paper from house to house, leaving it, among others, for the civil authorities, and also for the merchants, many of whom are much engaged in trade to the Brazils and to the Spanish settlements.

William Forster arrived at Berlin on the 4th of December, where he was joined by Josiah Forster and Cornelius Hanbury; John Marsh having returned home. By the friendly assistance of Baron Humboldt an early opportunity was granted to present the address to the King of Prussia, at Potsdam: it was read by William Forster, and was favourably received. It was also presented to the several Ministers of State, and copies for distribution were furnished to the rector of the university of Berlin, who undertook to forward them to the professors. Copies were also distributed among the members of the first and second chambers of the Legislature, and other influential persons. The three friends went to Dresden, where an opportunity was afforded to present the address to the king of Saxony, by whom it was kindly received. Copies were forwarded to his Ministers and to the members of the two chambers. They afterwards visited Leipsic and Halle: in each of these towns is a university, and care was taken to supply the professors connected with them, as well as the members of the civil administration. They then proceeded to Vienna. They remained two days at Breslau, in Silesia, and presented to the rector copies of the address for the professors, and also left others with persons of influence.

On the 5th of January 1850 they presented the address to the Emperor of Austria. He kindly engaged to read it, and listened to a few remarks which were made upon it. Opportunities were obtained to present it to the several Ministers of State, who readily agreed to send copies to the several governors of provinces throughout the empire, to those in ecclesiastical authority, and to the Austrian Consul in the Mediterranean. Copies were also supplied to the heads of the various religious bodies, and of the universities. At Prague a similar course was pursued. They next visited Munich. The King of Bavaria granted them an interview, and gave them a friendly reception. The Ministers of State were also seen, who consented to forward the address to the civil and ecclesiastical officers in different parts of the kingdom. The addresses were also sent to the Bavarian universities, and to the members of the two chambers of the Legislature, and other persons of influence. They then proceeded to Augsburg, where they distributed the address, and passed on to Stuttgart, where they were received by the King of Württemberg.

A distribution of the paper was made amongst the leading civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Carlsruhe was then visited, where they presented the address to the Grand Duke, his Ministers, and other influential persons. Josiah Forster then returned to England; and Francis Fry and Robert Alsop, jun. joined William Forster. Having reached Strasburg, they proceeded to Basle, Berne, Lausanne, and Geneva, distributing the address at each place. From Geneva they proceeded to Turin, and presented the address to the King of Sardinia, as also to other persons of influence. Leaving Turin, they reached Milan, where they placed the papers in the hands of several of the nobility and others of influence. Hence they went to Venice, where they met the Dukes of Parma, Modena, and Bordeaux. Passing through the cities of Parma and Modena, they reached Florence, where, and at Pisa, Lucca, and Leghorn, they circulated the address. At Genoa about 400 copies of the address were circulated amongst persons of influence; and at Nice about ninety copies.

Arriving at Marseilles, a large distribution took place. At Paris the address was presented to the President of the French Republic, in person. Copies were also left at the Hotels of the Ministers of State, and were freely circulated amongst the members of the National Assembly. The deputation then returned to England.

At the Yearly Meeting held in 1851 a report was received from the Meeting for Sufferings on the subject of the address, and the subject was continued under its care.

From a further report of the Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings, we learn that William Forster left London, accompanied by Edmund Richards, of Redruth, on the 11th of March 1851, for the purpose of presenting the address to the Queen of Spain, and circulating copies of it among the inhabitants of that country, as the way might open. They arrived at Madrid on the 5th of April, and waited on Lord Howden, who informed them that it would be very difficult to obtain a personal interview with the Queen. The difficulty, however, was ultimately overcome, and they were personally introduced to the Queen, to whom a copy of the Address was handed. She replied that she had read it, and received it with pleasure. After expressing a desire that the sympathy of the Queen might be awakened to the sufferings of the African race, and her influence engaged for the removal of the evil, the deputation retired. A copy of the address was afterwards presented to the Queen Mother in person. The deputation, accompanied by the Secretary of the British Minister, also waited on the Prime Minister to obtain permission to print the address at Madrid. He read the address, but was unwilling at that time to

grant the permission applied for. William Forster told him, that in all the European States where it had been asked for it had been granted. At a subsequent interview a verbal permission was given to print the address. Several weeks were employed in giving it circulation.

They called, in the course of the time they were at Madrid, on the ambassadors of several foreign powers, on the Ministers of the Crown, the ecclesiastical authorities, and the editors of the public press. Before leaving Madrid a letter was addressed by the deputation to the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs acknowledging the kindness received at the hands of the Ministers of the Crown, and urging home the question of the Abolition of Slavery and the slave-trade. From Madrid they proceeded to Valencia, and distributed about 300 copies of the address; and on the 15th of June reached Barcelona. They obtained permission to circulate the address, which they did to the extent of 700 copies, and forwarded through the post to the adjacent towns, and to the Spanish islands in the Mediterranean, about 400 more, besides those which were distributed personally in the city, in which there are large numbers directly or indirectly engaged in, or dependent upon, the slave-trade from the coast of Africa to the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. On leaving Spain they travelled to Toulouse, in the South of France. Here they sent out 160 copies of the address, directed to the principal inhabitants of the place; which service having been performed, the deputation returned to London.

At a Meeting for Sufferings held on the 5th of March 1852, John Candler and Robert Were Fox were appointed to present the address at the Court of Portugal. They left Southampton on the 27th of March, and arrived at Lisbon in six days. They took with them letters of recommendation from the Earl of Malmesbury, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Count Lavradio, the Portuguese Ambassador in London. Through the aid of the British Minister at Lisbon, a private interview with the Queen was kindly arranged by the Minister of the Interior. In the interval of ten days the address was translated into Portuguese, and printed, and calls were made on the Ministers of State. A satisfactory interview was had with Viscount Sa de Bandiera, a long-tried friend of the African race, who gave them every encouragement to go on with their work. The reception given to them by the Queen and King consort was highly satisfactory; and after presenting the address, which the Queen kindly received, the King, on behalf of them both, said: "We are glad to see you in Portugal: we had heard of your coming by Count Lavradio. Your object is a good one: every one who has a feeling heart must

feel it to be so. You desire the overthrow of Slavery ; so do we : but it is a difficult question : there are difficulties attending it here, as well as in other countries." Copies of the address were circulated amongst the nobility and civil and ecclesiastical authorities. It was printed in the daily organ of the Government and other daily papers. They afterwards visited St. Ubes, and circulated and caused to be distributed copies of the address.

The deputation referred with pleasure to the remarks made to them by the Minister of the Interior at parting : " I am sorry that I cannot express myself to you in English so readily as I should like to do, but we wish you to understand that it is our earnest desire to get rid of Slavery."

At a Meeting for Sufferings held on the 6th of August 1852, John Candler and Wilson Burgess were appointed to present the address at the Court of the Emperor of Brazil. The deputation embarked on the 9th of September 1852, and landed at Rio Janeiro on the 9th of October. After the usual preliminaries an interview was obtained with the Emperor, who received the address with pleasure, and read it. A large circulation of the address was also made amongst persons of influence and the public press. As an account of this visit has already appeared in our columns, it is unnecessary for us to enlarge upon it here.

At the Yearly Meeting of 1853, Josiah Forster, William Forster, John Candler, and William Holmes, were appointed a deputation to proceed to America, and present the address to the President and other members of the Federal Government, to governors of States, and others in authority in the Republic. They embarked from Liverpool on the 3d of September 1853, and arrived at Boston on the 15th of the same month. They first went to Washington, and, after a little detention, visited the President of the United States, Franklin Pierce, who received them with much affability and courtesy, and accepted the address. Without loss of time they proceeded to Richmond, *Virginia*. The governor, although a slaveholder, patiently listened to the whole address, and gave them, in some conversation afterwards, the opportunity of commending it to his best feelings and serious reflection. They then proceeded into the free State of *Ohio*, and saw the governor. *Kentucky* was the next State visited. They found the governor, Lazarus W. Powell, who is a slaveholder, at Frankfort, who listened to the address attentively. Returning to Cincinnati, they went on to Indianapolis, the chief city of *Indiana*, where they found the governor, Joseph A. Wright, and had an interview with him. At *Springfield*, the chief city of *Illinois*, they did not meet with the governor, but found him at

Joliet. They then proceeded to *Wisconsin*, and at Madison, the chief city of the State, they had an interview with Leonard J. Farwell, the governor. They urged upon the governors of these three free States that there is a part which they can take in hastening the termination of the system of Slavery. They then went on towards the Southern slave States, and reached the city of St. Louis, in *Missouri*. They visited the Governor, Sterling Price, at Jefferson City, who received their visit kindly, and heard the address patiently ; but he afterwards wrote them a letter expressing his dissatisfaction with their proceedings, which letter was printed in the newspapers. Embarking on board a steamer on the Mississippi river, they reached Baton Rouge, the chief city of *Louisiana*, and had an interview with the governor, P. O. Herbert. From *Louisiana* they proceeded to the State of *Mississippi*, and called upon the governor at Jackson, the seat of government. He received them without any difficulty. The next State which came in course was *Alabama*. To reach Montgomery, the chief city, where the governor, Henry W. Collier, was residing, they travelled by stage three days and three nights across the country, and shortly after had a full opportunity of communicating with him. From thence they went towards Millidgeville, in the old State of Georgia, and met with the governor, H. V. Johnson, who permitted the deputation to perform the service assigned to them without restraint. The State of *Florida* lay so far to the South, that they did not attempt to visit it. They had passed by *Arkansas*, of which the chief city, Little Rock, was not easy of access, and, on account of its distance, they omitted going into *Texas*, another slave State. This consideration applied with yet greater force to the far-distant free State of *California*. They proceeded out of Georgia to Columbia, in *South Carolina*. The governor, John L. Manning, at once made way for a visit to him. They passed on to Nashville, in the State of *Tennessee*. The governor, Andrew Johnson readily granted them an interview, and listened to the pleadings of the deputation on behalf of the oppressed. On leaving Nashville, they proceeded towards North Carolina, purposing to stay awhile in East Tennessee. Here, on their way towards North Carolina, William Forster, one of the deputation, was taken ill, and died on the 27th of June.* Notwithstanding their great loss, they proceeded on to Raleigh, in *North Carolina*, and had an interesting interview with David S. Reid, the governor of the State. From thence they proceeded to Annapolis in Maryland, in which State are about

* For a memoir of William Forster see *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for April and May 1854.

75,000 slaves, where they were kindly received and listened to by the governor, Thomas W. Lignon. They then went forward to the free States, and saw Rodman M. Price, the governor of *New Jersey*, at Trenton; Francis M. Dimond, Governor of *Rhode Island*, at Providence; Emery Washburn, the governor of New Massachussets; Noah Martin, the governor of New Hampshire; Charles H. Pond, the governor of *Connecticut*; Horatio Seymour, the governor of *New York*; John S. Robinson, the governor of *Vermont*, and William Bigler, the governor of *Pennsylvania*. An attempt was made to see the governor of *Delaware*, but without effect.

The deputation report, that in all their interviews with the governors, of whom they saw twenty-three out of the thirty one, they were kindly and respectfully received. With these exceptions, the whole of the address was read to them. In two of these cases the press of engagements seemed to preclude the propriety of reading it entire, and in the third instance it was thought well to shorten the visit. Copies of the address were sent by post to the governors of the States who were not seen, as well as to those of the territories of Minisota, Oregon, New Mexico, Utah, and Washington.

The deputation returned to Washington, and saw the President, informing him of the course they had taken. They called upon the Members of the Government, and forwarded the address to the Judges of the Supreme Court, the members of Congress, the Presidents of the numerous universities, and the influential ministers of religion of the different denominations, &c.; after which they returned home, embarking at New York on the 15th, and landing at Liverpool on the 28th of April 1854.

Miscellanea.

A FUGITIVE SLAVE RESCUED BY WOMEN—The Edgartown *Vineyard Gazette* gives the following detailed account of the circumstances of the escape, at Holmes's Hole, of the slave secreted on board the barque Franklin, bound from Jacksonville to Bath: "After the escape of the slave from the Franklin, he landed on West Chop, and proceeded to Gay Head, where he entered a swamp and remained concealed for several days. On the 16th inst. a warrant was placed in the hands of Deputy-Sheriff Lambert, of Chilmark, for his arrest on a charge of larceny, the offence alleged being the stealing of a boat from the Franklin. With this warrant in his pocket, Sheriff Lambert proceeded in search of his slave. He went to Gay Head, but did not enter the swamp; indeed, he did not know, not having been informed, at least positively, that the slave was there. He, however, searched in vain for the fugitive during the day, and, as night came on, proceeded to his

home. Just previously to, or at the very moment when the warrant was placed in the hands of Sheriff Lambert, two women emerged from the lovely village of Holmes's Hole, and, after lingering a moment in the suburbs, were furnished with a vehicle, into which they entered, taking with them some food, a woman's dress, bonnet, &c. They had heard of the slave, and were determined to save him from capture, if possible. After entering the vehicle, they drove with all speed to the swamp at Gay Head. On arriving there, they endeavoured in vain to persuade a man to enter the swamp and inform the slave that some friends were outside ready to convey him to a place of safety. The women, knowing there was not a moment's time to lose, then boldly entered the swamp—all marshy and wet and overgrown with briars and thorns as it was—and after a short search, found the slave, who endeavoured to escape from them; but after being furnished with food, and learning that the heroic women were his friends, ready to assist in his escape from the officer of the law, he conferred with them. The woman's dress and bonnet were soon placed upon him, when they all emerged from the swamp, and, jumping into the wagon, drove direct to Manainslie Bite, and entered a boat, with a good pilot on board, which the same women had engaged to meet them at that place before leaving Holmes's Hole. After the arrival of the boat at New Bedford, the women took the slave to the residence of an Abolitionist, and arrangements were made by him which resulted in the forwarding of the slave to Canada."—*American Paper*.

A SITUATION VACANT—Some years ago a black man called on a clergyman in Western New York, avowed himself a fugitive slave, and asked for food and shelter, which were freely accorded. Two or three persons being cognisant of the fact, called in to see the "runaway nigger," when the following dialogue ensued: "Spose you had very hard times down South—lickings a plenty?" "No; I never was whipped." "Wa'n't! Well, you had to work awful hard?" "My work was very light." "Guess your clothes wa'n't very nice?" "I was always well clothed: I was a good servant." "Reckon your victuals wa'n't uncommon fine?" "As good as I desired." "Well, I should give it as my opinion that you was a mighty big fool for running away from such a place as this, just for the sake of shirking for yourself." "Gen'men, my place down South is vacant. Any of you can have it by applying for it."—*American Paper*.

ALABAMA.—In the Alabama Legislature a Bill to emancipate John Bell, a slave belonging to the estate of the late Vice-President, W. R. King, was read twice and passed.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 1st, 1855.

REPORT OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE.

THE Report of the Anti-slavery Conference, held in London on the 29th and 30th Nov. last, may be had on application to the Secretary of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, 27 New Broad Street, London.

COTTON AND SLAVERY.—No. I.

At the recent Anti-slavery Conference, a resolution was passed recommending that efforts should be made to direct public attention to the capabilities of British India for producing the staple commodity of the Southern States of the American Union, namely, cotton. The subject is not a new one, in connexion with Anti-slavery effort. We have frequently dwelt upon it in our columns, and are of opinion that no more important investigation could be entered upon than to ascertain how far our magnificent Indian empire might, under judicious management, and a better system of government, be brought into successful competition with the Slave States of America, in producing cotton for our markets. A variety of interesting works have been published upon this subject, from which we purpose giving extracts, from time to time, in a series of articles, of which we this day publish the first. We do not, however, intend to confine ourselves to India. We have collected a goodly store of information relating to the cotton districts of Brazil, West Africa, Natal, Australia, and our West-India colonies; and we believe it can be demonstrated, that if Great Britain now consumes the bulk of the slave-grown cotton of the Southern States of America, and is in dangerous dependence upon a single source for the supply of the raw material to which she is indebted for her prosperity as a manufacturing country, it is wholly her own fault, for the remedy is actually in her own hands.

The subject is one of such magnitude, that we cannot hope to present to our readers more than a popular summary of it, in its various branches. We take India first, because the necessity of improving the internal navigation of the country has recently been brought under the notice of the *Manchester Chamber of Commerce* and the *Commercial Association* there, and there seems to be a probability that some active measures will be taken to facilitate the means of transit across the country, as the first step towards enabling the native growers to supply our markets with a cheap cotton, yet at a price that shall leave them a fair profit.

It has long been an admitted fact, that, in India, the want of irrigation and of the means of cheap transit is one of the many existing drawbacks upon the prosperity of the country, and that for want of these, hundreds of thousands of acres of fertile land lie uncultivated, though there are hands to till the soil and reap the harvest. On this subject we give the following report, from the *Times* of the 19th ult., of a meeting held on the 18th, at the Manchester Town-Hall, to enable Lieutenant-Colonel Cotton to lay before the members of the Chamber of Commerce and the Commercial Association certain plans for developing the resources of India, by rendering the river Godavery navigable into the interior of the country. Lieutenant-Colonel Cotton recently called attention to the subject in a letter to Mr. John Bright, M.P. Mr. B. Nicholls, the Mayor, presided, and there were present Lieutenant-Colonel Cotton, Mr. T. M. Gibson, M.P., Mr. Bright, M.P., Mr. Danby Seymour, M.P., Sir J. Potter, Mr. Bazley, President of the Chamber of Commerce; Mr. M. Ross, Vice-President of the Commercial Association; Mr. Entwistle, Mr. J. Sidebottom, Mr. G. Thompson, Alderman Shawcross, Alderman Watkins, Alderman Barnes; and a number of other commercial men.

Colonel Cotton addressed the meeting in a speech of considerable length, in the course of which he made the following observations:

During thirty years that I have been employed, chiefly on public works, in India, I have had many opportunities of judging from actual results of what may be effected by improving that country. The two principal works that I have had to do with were the irrigation of the delta of the Cauvery, or district of Tanjore south of Madras, and that of the delta of the Godavery, or district of Rajahmundry, 400 miles north of Madras. The delta of Tanjore contains about 3000 square miles, and the cost and results have been as follows: About 800,000*l.* (equal to 5,000,000*l.* in this country) has been expended, and the population has increased from 700,000 to 1,500,000; the revenue has increased 200,000*l.* a year, and the whole of the lands are now saleable at an average of about 4*l.* per acre, corresponding with 24*l.* in this country; while 99·100ths of the land in India is utterly unsaleable at any price. About 1000 miles of common road have been made in that delta; but the district still labours under the great and vital defect of a want of cheap transit. The results, however, have been entirely satisfactory. The delta of the Godavery was far less improved by the natives than that of the Cauvery; it was, in fact, entirely unprovided with the works required to secure it from floods and droughts, and to preserve the means of transit. The necessary works have now been finished, several hundred miles of channels have been cut, 200 or 300 miles of river embankment have been thrown up, and various other works constructed, at a cost of about 250,000*l.*, corresponding with 1,500,000*l.* in this country. It

will take some years to complete the whole system of works, but already the results are extraordinary. The revenue has increased by 50,000*l.* a-year, the export of produce has increased near twenty-fold, and the internal traffic about as much. While helping to carry out such extensive systems of public works, the whole subject of the internal improvement of India has necessarily been brought before me, and two things have been continually forced upon me; first, the imperative necessity of providing the country both with irrigation and exceedingly cheap transit; and, secondly, the extraordinary extent of improvement and the great results that may be obtained from a certain expenditure. It is clear to me that where the distances are so great and the value of the chief articles of transit so small—being agricultural produce—very low rates of transit are essential to allow of the produce being conveyed to the ports and cities; and that in an unimproved country, filled with a dense and industrious population, the effects of public works are far beyond what we can easily imagine, judging from a country like England. But the Godavery delta works necessarily brought before me particularly the subject of the navigation of that magnificent river, so obviously the natural outlet of the produce of an immense tract of country, remarkably fertile, and occupied by a very large population. The Godavery rises close to Bombay, and the whole of this central part of the basin is an exceedingly fertile country, with a very considerable population; and anybody would suppose that it would be obvious at once, on looking at the map, that this river, if at all practicable, was the proper outlet for it. What has been thought of the importance of this by the government and by mercantile men is shewn plainly enough by the fact that they have actually commenced a railroad, which is costing about 15,000*l.* a mile, and is to ascend the Ghauts 2500 feet from Bombay, to overcome this obstacle, and then descend 2000 feet into the heart of the delta, just centrally between the two seas, that distance being 400 miles; so that, at the rate at which the railroad has already been executed, it will cost 6,000,000*l.* to bring it into this quarter of the country. It seems to me perfectly evident that such a work is by no means too great for the object in view, which is no less than to facilitate the transit of the article which is the greatest produce of Berar, and at the same time the most important raw material for the manufacture of England—cotton. But to execute such a work for that purpose, when there is actually an immense navigable river flowing through the heart of the country, and terminating at a harbour safer than that of Bombay itself, which may, in its present state, be worked at one-fourth of the cost of conveying by a railroad during six or seven months in the year, is certainly one of the most surprising mistakes ever made. That Berar has exported large quantities of cotton to Manchester; that it can be bought there at about 1*½d.* a lb.; that it is now actually carried from 300 to 400 miles by land, on bullocks' backs, to Bombay, at a cost of about 1*d.* a lb.; that Berar is capable, with its present population, of producing more than England can consume, are, I believe, well-established facts; and we have ascer-

tained that the river can be navigated for part of the year. The Governor-General has also, as I am informed, urged upon the authorities at home the complete improvement of the river. But I feel fully persuaded that it is far better that the matter should be taken up by an independent company, and especially by a body deeply interested in the gaining access to Berar as the Manchester merchants and manufacturers. I have satisfied myself that there is the strongest ground for concluding that the navigation of the river will answer as a speculation, for these reasons—that Berar wants the salt, rice, and other products of the coast, and that England requires the cotton, wheat, and numerous other products of the interior. The navigation of the Ganges and of the Indus has been carried on for many years, and we have full proof that these rivers may be navigated properly, and with advantage, by steam. Both have been worked by native boats, simply navigated by men. The reasons the Godavery has not been worked hitherto are twofold. One is, that along the course of it the petty zemindars dependent upon the state of Hyderabad, knowing that the whole of that part of the country was in a disordered state, assumed to themselves the right of levying whatever duties they pleased. The other is, that the Europeans connected with the cotton districts and interests are all at Bombay, and of course it is nothing to them whether the navigation of the river is improved or otherwise. The government have now assumed the State of Nagpore, and also that of Hyderabad, so that all those parts of the country are now British possessions: and the first thing the Governor-General did after this assumption was to issue a proclamation, declaring that no frontier duties whatever were to be levied in connection with these countries, which seems at once quite to settle the question with these zemindars. The first point to be undertaken by any Company is to navigate the Godavery in its present state for six or seven months in the year; the second point is to improve the bed of the river, and by that means I am satisfied that the Godavery can be made navigable for the whole of the year. One great advantage of the present plan is, that it can be begun on any scale. What I should propose is, that we should commence the first year with no more outlay than is absolutely necessary to give us a really good and economical navigation of the river by steamers; that we should ascertain in detail what is further required, and what the real results will probably be; and that we should then proceed with further improvements, such as we should find to be necessary and desirable. I select this work because, in looking all over India, I have come to the conclusion that nothing offers us a promise of so profitable an investment for money as this Godavery navigation; and I am confirmed in my opinion when I compare my conclusion with what mercantile men, as well as members of the government, think on the subject. What I have been looking about for was some one project which should offer a really good opening for investments of capital, so as to encourage the capitalists of England to invest their money in Indian undertakings. We have felt most distinctly and powerfully in India the influence of Manchester upon us; in fact, what has

been done there has been done mainly through the power and influence of the voice of Manchester. One great object I have had in view was to try to bring Manchester more directly in contact with India, and more immediately interested in undertakings there. If we can secure an extensive supply of cotton, though of the inferior kinds, yet, if they are still fit for the great mass of the coarse manufactures of Manchester, we shall no longer be absolutely dependent upon a single field, as we are now. Therefore, the ultimate object in opening the Godaverry seems to be a vital one to Manchester. I wish particularly to bring a private Company to execute these works. The government have carried on a few works here and there, and they have been extraordinarily productive; for on an average all the new works executed in the Madras Presidency during the last fifteen years, give a present return of revenue to the government of 100 per cent. But there are elements of benefit to India in private Companies which cannot result from the government executing works. They bring a body of active and intelligent men to be more personally, deeply, and closely interested in India—they bring a powerful public body to bear more directly on Indian affairs; and those are the great things we want. Public Companies, too, would scatter a number of Europeans over the country, who would be interested in the purchase of cotton and other materials; we should thus inoculate India with Europeans, and the natives would be advanced more than they possibly could by any other means. The natives do not want intelligence; but they want our enterprise, and to be raised from that state of dependence to which they had been brought by the absolute neglect with which the country has been treated as regards public improvements. In the districts where I have been employed the change in the natives when they have been encouraged by seeing the government really looking after and taking care of them has been most surprising. Colonel Cotton concluded by expressing his readiness to answer any questions, and by remarking that the further prosecution of the work could only be undertaken by persons after they had set themselves seriously and closely to work to investigate all the details.

A number of questions, relating to various matters of detail, were then put to Colonel Cotton, who gave every explanation that was demanded. In answer to a question,

Mr. BRIGHT said: I spoke to Sir Charles Wood before the end of the last session with regard to the facts which Colonel Cotton had laid before me, and I asked how far we might calculate upon the assistance of the Board of Control in any effort of this nature; and his answer was this: "If you will bring me a scheme beginning here and ending there, whether it be a railroad or a navigation—any thing that is definite, and that one can comprehend—and you do not ask government for guarantees, which I think is not a good principle"—and in that I quite agree with him—"I will give you all the assistance in my power." And I have no doubt whatever, that if this project was to go on, we should find Sir Charles Wood—who, I believe, is really honestly anxious to make his administration advantageous to India—give us all the assistance in his power; and that is

certainly a state of things which has not prevailed heretofore, when notoriously, from various causes, great obstacles have been made when any attempt has been made to do any thing of this kind.

"Mr. DANBY SEYMOUR, M.P., then addressed the Meeting, and gave a detailed and interesting account of the journey which he had undertaken over the Southern part of India, in order to ascertain the real state of the country.

CAPTAIN FENWICK briefly addressed the Meeting, corroborating Colonel Cotton's statements.

Mr. BRIGHT, M.P., in moving the following resolution, observed, that he had a notion that if they had a little more sunshine, and should determine upon this enterprise, they would be able to obtain from Parliament the necessary powers, with limited liability; and he believed the extreme sum required for making the river navigable, and forming tanks to store water when the stream was low, would not be more than 250,000L. But even that sum would not be necessary at once. A much smaller sum would enable them to place steamboats on the river and make some of the more pressing improvements, and then they could go on with others when they had had time to ascertain which were the most necessary in the bed of the river, and call for the rest of the money as they wanted it. He moved—

"That this Meeting duly estimates the information which has been this day laid before it on the subject of the navigation of the river Godaverry, and appoints a Committee for the purpose of collecting such further facts with regard to it as may be accessible; and the Committee thus appointed shall, if it still appear to them advisable, and at such time as shall appear to them best, call another Meeting for the purpose of considering the propriety of taking such further steps as may be necessary for promoting the improvement and navigation of the Godaverry. That the following gentlemen form the Committee—Mr. Thomas Bazley, Mr. Henry Ashworth, Mr. Thomas Ashton, Mr. J. Aspinall Turner, Mr. Malcolm Ross, and Mr. Murray Gladstone."

Mr. ENTWISTLE seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Votes of thanks to Colonel Cotton and to the Mayor completed the business.

It is a good sign when Manchester takes up such a question as this, on commercial grounds. We cannot give her credit for much Anti-slavery zeal or even sentiment: but let this enterprise be conducted with vigour and perseverance, and ere many years India will export a sufficient quantity of free-labour cotton to affect very considerably the profits of the producer of it by slave-labour. Free-labour has yet to fight slave-labour in the markets of the world, in the article cotton as well as sugar. It has been demonstrated, over and over again, that if it has not before now triumphed, the fault has lain on the side of those who have it under control, but who have crippled its energies, whilst they have, at the same time, been fostering and encouraging its adversary. As an illustration of this fact, we need but call attention to

the subjoined tabular statement, copied from a recent number of the *New-York Inquirer*, which shews that the British market is becoming increasingly dependent upon the Slave States for its supplies of cotton, notwithstanding that our Indian empire is capable of producing at least an equal quan-

ty annually, let alone Africa, the West Indies, Natal, and Australia.

COTTON.—The changes in this important staple for the past five years are fully demonstrated by the annexed table of the product and foreign export for each of the last five years, and the growing importance of the British market to our Southern States:

	1840-50.	1850-11.	1851-52.	1852-53.	1853-54.
Total Crop	2,097,000	2,355,000	3,015,000	3,263,000	2,920,000
Export Great Britain	1,107,000	1,418,000	1,669,000	1,737,000	1,604,000
Export France.....	290,000	301,000	421,000	427,000	374,000
Export N. Europe....	72,000	129,000	169,000	171,000	105,000
Export other for. ports	122,000	139,000	185,000	193,000	176,000
Foreign Export.....	1,591,00 0	1,988,000	2,404,000	2,528,000	2,319,000
Stock on hand.....	142,000	89,000	72,000	107,000	117,000

Owing to the protracted war in Europe, there will probably, throughout the year 1855, be a foreign demand for the surplus wheat and Indian corn produced in the United States. Cotton and breadstuffs will thus go far to liquidate the large balances held against us in Europe.—*New-York Inquirer*.

In our next we shall give some extracts from a remarkable pamphlet written by F. Carnac Brown, Esq., of Tellichery, South India, treating on the cost of production in that region, and of its capabilities.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION AND THE GUANO TRADE.

We have frequently alluded in our columns to the subject of immigrant labour, and called attention to the evils incidental to this new traffic. It appears that for some time past considerable numbers of Chinese have been induced, in contravention of the laws of their country, to contract with certain speculators, to hire themselves out for a term of years. In the course of the year 1853 a paper was laid before Parliament, containing the correspondence which had taken place between Sir John Bowring and the government on this important subject. It may be in the recollection of some of our readers that serious riots, accompanied with loss of life, took place about three years ago, in consequence of the conduct of the contractors' agents towards the immigrants they had engaged. The facts of the case were fully investigated on the spot, and Sir John Bowring submitted to the government a *résumé* of the chief evils of the immigration system. It would appear that the men who are induced to leave their homes for foreign service belong to the lowest class of the population, and that the Mandarins connive at their expatriation, as one means of ridding themselves of a local nuisance. These officials receive so much per head for the immigrants con-

tracted for by the agents. The labourers are induced to accept a small sum of money as a *bonus*, in the same way as a raw country lad receives a bounty for enlisting in the Queen's service. They are conducted to large sheds or barracoons, where they remain till the period arrives for their being shipped. When on board, the contracts for service are read, and, being signed by them, the bargain is concluded. Numerous instances have occurred in which the immigrants have been deluded into signing contracts under the impression that they were going to Malacca, or other places within a convenient distance of their own country, but have discovered, when only too late, that their real destination was Cuba, California, the Chincha Islands, and elsewhere, in the western hemisphere. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that mutinies aboard these immigrant ships should have occurred. As though the original cheat practised upon them were not sufficient provocation, the quantity of food given to them has been insufficient, and the accommodation afforded them of the most wretched kind. One case occurred, and we are not certain that it was singular, where the captain cut off the tails of the Chinese on board, than which a more deadly insult could not be practised on the immigrants, as it is tantamount to a brand for felony. The result was, that they rose upon the captain and crew, massacred them, and made their escape from the ship.

On arriving at their destination, it does not appear that their condition is at all ameliorated. It has been asserted, upon what we believe is good authority, that many of these poor unfortunates have been sold as slaves in the public market-places of Havana. From time to time accounts have appeared in the American papers, which have been transferred to our own journals, of the dreadful condition to which these

unhappy creatures are reduced at the Guano diggings. We copy from a pro-slavery Southern paper the subjoined statement, which was reprinted in the *Times* under the head of *Horrors of the Guano Trade.*

"We have received full confirmation of the horrors reported to be in the course of perpetration in connection with the guano trade at the Chincha Islands. It is picked up and wheeled to the ships, it appears, by contract. The contractor has imported Chinamen for this work, nearly 600 of whom are now on these islands. They are hired for five years, at the rate of 48 dollars per annum. They commence work in the morning as soon as they can see to work. They have five tons of guano to dig and wheel to a distance of over one-eighth of a mile. It is all, or nearly all, so hard, that it has to be picked up; and if they do not accomplish these five tons by five o'clock P.M., they are flogged with raw hide whips, some five feet long, receiving one dozen stripes, each of which starts the blood; then they are driven back to finish their work. The guano has a very bad effect upon them, swelling their legs and arms, and giving them bad sores on their legs, feet, and hands. Notwithstanding all these however, if they can get along, they are compelled to finish their task. Our informant says: 'I have known as many as thirty flogged in one day. They have no Sunday allowed, with the exception of one in a year, the same work going on on Sunday as during the rest of the week. The consequence of this ill-treatment is suicide in various forms, such as leaping from the rocks 100 feet high, cutting their throats, and burying themselves alive. This last has actually been the case, to my knowledge. One morning three were found who had so buried themselves; two were dead and one alive. The last recovered to prolong his miserable existence for a short time.' It is time that the voice of civilization throughout the world was heard in denunciation of such horrors as these."—*New-Orleans Picayune.*

These facts speak for themselves. It is surely time that something should be done to arrest this dreadful evil. A day or two after the appearance of the foregoing, the *Times* inserted the following communication, from which it would appear that the facts in the preceding statement have not been exaggerated:

"SIR,—A few months ago the captain of a ship of mine that loaded at the Chincha Islands told me about the frightful treatment of the poor Chinese at the Chincha Islands, similar to that recorded in the American paper you lately quoted from, but I thought that such cruelty must be an entire exaggeration. Surely Anthony Gibbs and Sons can tell the truth, and it is for them to deny that their traffic is carried on at the cost of almost daily suicides. For mercy's sake, arrest such wholesale slaughter, if it be true; for I am sure even the enriching properties of guano would be abandoned rather than it should be sent home at such a sacrifice of human life.

"A SHIPOWNER."

"Jan. 16."

It is manifest, from the facts we have given above, that the system of Chinese immigration is as bad, and as pregnant with abuse, as the one under which the Indian Coolies are exported. This new branch of the traffic appears to have sprung up under the auspices of British merchants; but though the abuses of the system are admitted by the government, it is alleged that there is a difficulty in dealing with the parties, inasmuch as their ships now repair to Chinese ports, to which British authority does not extend. Something has been done to check the exportation of immigrants from ports in China under our control, but these measures are necessarily unavailing when the immigrant agents conduct their operations in places beyond our jurisdiction.

The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have had this subject under consideration, and will feel obliged by any communication that might aid them in the measures they may deem it expedient to take to bring the whole matter prominently before the Legislature.

The following extracts are taken from a paper presented to Parliament during the Session of 1853:

Dr. Bowring to Earl of Malmesbury, dated Hong-Kong, May 17, 1852.

"Cases similar to that of the 'Robert Browne' have been of frequent occurrence of late. Several captains and mates have been murdered, and the vessels taken possession of by the Coolies. I believe there are few instances in which the commanders have not been blameworthy in a very high degree, their conduct to Coolies having been most cruel and despotic. It appears in this case, from the depositions, that the captain of the 'Robert Browne,' on the plea of cleanliness, cut off the tails of a very large number of the Chinese, (an indignity quite equal to that which the cutting off the noses and ears would be to Englishmen,) and had their bodies scrubbed with hard brooms. This was too much for Chinese endurance, and the results are certainly not to be wondered at.

"Official interference is exceedingly difficult. The laws of China prohibit the expatriation and emigration of its subjects to foreign lands; but such is the pressure of the teeming population, that the outflow of Chinese labourers is increasing from year to year; and from this neighbourhood alone at least 20,000 have emigrated within a few months; the majority paying their own passages, the rest shipped for account of adventurers, hiring them for so many years' service, and disposing of their labour in the various countries to which they are destined. So powerless or unwilling are the Chinese authorities to interfere, that the great barracoons where the Coolies are collected at Amoy almost touch the custom-house. The Emigration Acts of the United States no doubt make adequate provision for the comfort and security of pas-

sengers, but it is to be feared they place very little restraint upon the cupidity of the shippers of Coolies, and I suspect the most fraudulent misrepresentations are made by the Chinese crimps and brokers who collect the Coolie population together for shipment. Shocking accounts have reached us of the sufferings of the Coolies in the middle passage, on the Peruvian guano island, and some other localities."

Dr. Bowring to the Earl of Malmesbury, dated Hong-Kong, August 3, 1852.

"I have myself seen the arrangements for the shipment of Coolies at Amoy: hundreds of them gathered together in barracoons, stripped naked, and stamped or painted with the letter C (California, P (Peru), or S (Sandwich Islands), on their breasts, according to the destination for which they were intended. A trifle advanced to give their hunger food, a suit of clothes to cover their nudity, a dollar or two for their families, and candidates in abundance are found for transportation to any foreign land. But I need not point out the deterioration in quality which a sudden and large demand will produce, nor the impossibility, under its pressure, of doing what might and ought to be done to ensure the success and safety of the experiment."

The principal shipper of Coolies is Mr. Tait, a British subject, who has all the advantages and influence which his being Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese Consul gives him."

Dr. Bowring to the Earl of Malmesbury, dated Hong-Kong, January 3, 1853.

"If foreign ships convey emigrants to British colonies, it is clear no sufficient protection can be given to the Coolies either before their embarkation or during the outward passage. Interference is a matter of much delicacy and difficulty; for though I have little doubt, were the facts accessible and the proofs at hand, that many of the proceedings in China come under the provisions, and would subject the malfeasants to the penalties of the Slave-Trade Acts, I cannot shut my eyes to the impracticability—the impossibility, rather—of furnishing judicial proofs; and the embarrassments of the question would be greatly augmented by the general worthlessness of Chinese testimony; as my experience leads me to the sad conclusion, that the securities for veracity in any of the grades of society in China are weak and few."

"But the field where the amount of misery and misdoing in connection with Chinese emigration will be by far the widest, is where foreign agents and foreign ships are employed in collecting and conveying Chinamen to foreign countries and colonies. There is every reason to fear that iniquities scarcely exceeded by those practised on the African coast and on the African middle passage have not been wanting. The statements which have reached China of the condition of the Coolies in the guano islands—the reported sale of Coolies in the public market-places of Peru—the deceits practised in order to obtain labourers for the railway of the Isthmus of Darien—are rather subjects of general conversation than of official cognizance. I cannot, however, but think that there may be serious dangers, not yet developed, in these inconsiderate

transfers of such multitudes of Chinamen to distant lands."

Commander Fishbourne to Captain Maine, dated "Hermes," Hong Kong, December 21, 1852.

The following items are taken from the report of Captain Fishbourne, who proceeded to Amoy at the request of His Excellency the governor of Hong-Kong, in order to assist in inquiring into the cases of the disturbances which had existed there.

"Thus they argue, that if they take one of these poor people into their sheds or ships, and feed him for a time, they have a right over him, in virtue of which they may keep him in confinement against his will, and this irrespective of the character of antecedent transactions. Let this claim of theirs be granted, and then they are justified in expatriating them against their will; and they violate neither law nor morality, if they only offer them a contract (fair in their own estimation) to sign previous to sailing; for the evidence goes to shew that these contracts are not signed till the Coolies are embarked on board the emigrant ship.

"The impression on my mind, from all I could learn of the manner in which the earlier steps are conducted, is this:

"The houses have Coolie-brokers, to whom they give so much a head for each man accepted, and they may employ others: these go out into the country and induce men by various means to come down to Amoy—some by fair promises (in the estimation of some), others by false: few, I venture to say, have had the terms of the contract explained till they have placed themselves under an obligation.

"These coming to Amoy are taken away from all means of support; and having no means of support for their return, should they so determine, have no alternative but to accept the terms offered, or starve. Many of them who come down under these circumstances, after examination are found to be physically defective, and are rejected and turned adrift to die in the streets. Mr. Harvey and myself saw one, and one of the officers of this ship saw another, and I was told of several others during our short stay of seven days."

Acting Consul Backhouse to Dr. Bowring, dated Amoy, January 11, 1853.

"Hitherto the collecting of Coolies, or emigrants as they are termed, has been left entirely in the hands of brokers, who—their sole aim being to enrich themselves—have adopted means the most unscrupulous to that end. Their profit depending upon the numbers procured, they have not failed to do their utmost, by false promises, and in other ways which have at least afforded good foundation for many of the rumours on the subject, to secure as many as possible, and then appropriate to themselves, on the score of defraying expenses, the money (six dollars each) which is given to the Coolies, as well as a further allowance of two dollars per head, given for the purpose of providing proper clothing; while the emigrants learn, perhaps after the vessel is under weigh, that Havanna or Demerara is their des-

unhappy creatures are reduced at the Guano diggings. We copy from a pro-slavery Southern paper the subjoined statement, which was reprinted in the *Times* under the head of *Horrors of the Guano Trade*.

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"Cases similar to that of the 'Robert Browne' have been of frequent occurrence of late. Several captains and mates have been murdered, and the vessels taken possession of by the Coolies. I believe there are few instances in which the commanders have not been blameworthy in a very high degree, their conduct to Coolies having been most cruel and despotic. It appears in this case, from the depositions, that the captain of the 'Robert Browne,' on the plea of cleanliness, cut off the tails of a very large number of the Chinese, (an indignity quite equal to that which the cutting off the noses and ears would be to Englishmen,) and had their bodies scrubbed with hard brooms. This was too much for Chinese endurance, and the results are certainly not to be wondered at.

"Official interference is exceedingly difficult. The laws of China prohibit the expatriation and emigration of its subjects to foreign lands; but such is the pressure of the teeming population, that the outflow of Chinese labourers is increasing from year to year; and from this neighbourhood alone at least 20,000 have emigrated within a few months; the majority paying their own passages, the rest shipped for account of adventurers, hiring them for so many years' service, and disposing of their labour in the various countries to which they are destined. So powerless or unwilling are the Chinese authorities to interfere, that the great barracoons where the Coolies are collected at Amoy almost touch the custom-house. The Emigration Acts of the United States no doubt make adequate provision for the comfort and security of pas-

sengers, but it is to be feared they place very little restraint upon the cupidity of the shippers of Coolies, and I suspect the most fraudulent misrepresentations are made by the Chinese crimps and brokers who collect the Coolie population together for shipment. Shocking accounts have reached us of the sufferings of the Coolies in the middle passage, on the Peruvian guano island, and some other localities."

Dr. Bowring to the Earl of Malmesbury, dated Hong-Kong, August 3, 1852.

"I have myself seen the arrangements for the shipment of Coolies at Amoy: hundreds of them gathered together in barracoons, stripped naked, and stamped or painted with the letter C (California, P (Peru), or S (Sandwich Islands), on their breasts, according to the destination for which they were intended. A trifle advanced to give their hungeriness food, a suit of clothes to cover their nudity, a dollar or two for their families, and candidates in abundance are found for transportation to any foreign land. But I need not point out the deterioration in quality which a sudden and large demand will produce, nor the impossibility, under its pressure, of doing what might and ought to be done to ensure the success and safety of the experiment."

The principal shipper of Coolies is Mr. Tait, a British subject, who has all the advantages and influence which his being Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese Consul gives him."

Dr. Bowring to the Earl of Malmesbury, dated Hong-Kong, January 3, 1853.

"If foreign ships convey emigrants to British colonies, it is clear no sufficient protection can be given to the Coolies either before their embarkation or during the outward passage. Interference is a matter of much delicacy and difficulty; for though I have little doubt, were the facts accessible and the proofs at hand, that many of the proceedings in China come under the provisions, and would subject the malfeasants to the penalties of the Slave-Trade Acts, I cannot shut my eyes to the impracticability—the impossibility, rather—of furnishing judicial proofs; and the embarrassments of the question would be greatly augmented by the general worthlessness of Chinese testimony; as my experience leads me to the sad conclusion, that the securities for veracity in any of the grades of society in China are weak and few."

"But the field where the amount of misery and misdoing in connection with Chinese emigration will be by far the widest, is where foreign agents and foreign ships are employed in collecting and conveying Chinamen to foreign countries and colonies. There is every reason to fear that iniquities scarcely exceeded by those practised on the African coast and on the African middle passage have not been wanting. The statements which have reached China of the condition of the Coolies in the guano islands—the reported sale of Coolies in the public market-places of Peru—the deceipts practised in order to obtain labourers for the railway of the Isthmus of Darien—are rather subjects of general conversation than of official cognizance. I cannot, however, but think that there may be serious dangers, not yet developed, in these inconsiderate

transfers of such multitudes of Chinamen to distant lands."

Commander Fishbourne to Captain Maine, dated "Hermes," Hong Kong, December 21, 1852.

The following items are taken from the report of Captain Fishbourne, who proceeded to Amoy at the request of His Excellency the governor of Hong-Kong, in order to assist in inquiring into the cases of the disturbances which had existed there.

"Thus they argue, that if they take one of these poor people into their sheds or ships, and feed him for a time, they have a right over him, in virtue of which they may keep him in confinement against his will, and this irrespective of the character of antecedent transactions. Let this claim of theirs be granted, and then they are justified in expatriating them against their will; and they violate neither law nor morality, if they only offer them a contract (fair in their own estimation) to sign previous to sailing; for the evidence goes to shew that these contracts are not signed till the Coolies are embarked on board the emigrant ship.

"The impression on my mind, from all I could learn of the manner in which the earlier steps are conducted, is this:

"The houses have Coolie-brokers, to whom they give so much a head for each man accepted, and they may employ others: these go out into the country and induce men by various means to come down to Amoy—some by fair promises (in the estimation of some), others by false: few, I venture to say, have had the terms of the contract explained till they have placed themselves under an obligation.

"These coming to Amoy are taken away from all means of support; and having no means of support for their return, should they so determine, have no alternative but to accept the terms offered, or starve. Many of them who come down under these circumstances, after examination are found to be physically defective, and are rejected and turned adrift to die in the streets. Mr. Harvey and myself saw one, and one of the officers of this ship saw another, and I was told of several others during our short stay of seven days."

Acting Consul Backhouse to Dr. Bowring, dated Amoy, January 11, 1853.

"Hitherto the collecting of Coolies, or emigrants as they are termed, has been left entirely in the hands of brokers, who—their sole aim being to enrich themselves—have adopted means the most unscrupulous to that end. Their profit depending upon the numbers procured, they have not failed to do their utmost, by false promises, and in other ways which have at least afforded good foundation for many of the rumours on the subject, to secure as many as possible, and then appropriate to themselves, on the score of defraying expenses, the money (six dollars each) which is given to the Coolies, as well as a further allowance of two dollars per head, given for the purpose of providing proper clothing; while the emigrants learn, perhaps after the vessel is under weigh, that Havanna or Demerara is their des-

tination, instead of Singapore or Sydney, as they had been led to suppose."

We could make large additions to the above extracts, did our space admit, or circumstances demand it.

EXPEDITION TO CENTRAL AFRICA.

THE exploration of Central Africa is a subject which cannot fail to interest the friends of the Negro race in this country. We called attention, in our Number for February 1853, to the expedition which had been fitted out under the guidance of Drs. Barth and Overweg, and the object of which was to explore the interior of Africa. It is greatly to be lamented that the zeal and enterprise of European travellers appear fated to encounter a serious obstacle to their success in the climate of that country. The names of Duncan, of Richardson, of Overweg, (perhaps to these may be added the names of Barth and Warrington,) with many others too numerous to mention, are familiar to the public in connection with various expeditions into various parts of Africa, all of whom have fallen victims to the climate. Indeed, it appears improbable that European constitutions can successfully withstand the great heats, the sudden changes of temperature, the fevers, and other maladies, which fatigue and exposure engender. Some such idea appears to have occurred to a few gentlemen interested in the welfare of Africa, who, after mature deliberation, have formed themselves, under highly distinguished patronage, into a *Society for Exploring and Evangelizing Africa by the means of Native Agency*. As this Society is yet quite in its infancy, it would perhaps be premature to enter at present upon the special objects which it proposes to carry out. It is gratifying to record that local associations auxiliary to it are being established, one of which was formed in Edinburgh on the 28th of November last, the Committee embracing the names of some of the most eminent men in Scotland. We hope to have it in our power, before long, to record the first steps which the new Society has taken for the fulfilment of its objects. In the mean time we annex, from the *Athenaeum* of the 13th ult., a letter to the editor from Mr. Augustus Peterman, giving accounts received from Dr. Vogel, of his proceedings up to the beginning of July last. The previous accounts were dated to the 20th of February.

We are informed by Mr. Peterman, that on the 20th of February Dr. Vogel had made up his letters, and was about to write a despatch to Colonel Hermann at Tripoli, when he was suddenly seized with a very violent attack of the yellow fever (or "black

vomiting," as it is frequently called). Mr. Peterman continues :

" For ten days he lay unconscious and helpless, his companions expecting to see him die every moment. Owing to their want of medical knowledge, no medicines or medical aid was given to the traveller. Happily, Dr. Vogel's constitution, not otherwise a strong one, but seemingly not ill adapted for these dangerous climes, rallied, the delirium ceased after ten days, and when he became conscious, yellow spots on his arms still shewed him the great danger he had just escaped. Calomel and Peruvian bark afforded him relief, and afterwards, in recurring attacks of the fever, the cold-water cure proved very effective: enveloping himself in wet sheets of cloth, which he changed whenever they became warm, the fever generally disappeared in two hours. Thus, in another ten days he had gained strength enough to sit up erect and to walk a few paces; and on the 27th of March he had so far recovered as to be able to accompany the Sheikh of Bornu on a great slave-hunting expedition to the south-east of Kuka.

" On this occasion Dr. Vogel penetrated as far south as latitude 9° 30' north, or some thirty miles further than Drs. Barth and Overweg, who had accompanied the Sheikh of Bornu on a similar razzia in nearly the same direction two years previously. The army consisted of 22,000 men and horse, with a train of 3000 camels, 5000 oxen, and 15,000 camel and oxen-drivers, and was said to be the most numerous army brought together in Bornu since the time of the Sheikh El Kanemy. This immense host, bent on murder and robbery, moved slowly in a S.S.E. direction towards the country of the unfortunate Musgo (or Musgu) and Tubori (or Tufuri), who have for some time past been the objects of these Bornuese marauding expeditions. The northern position of the Musgo country, called Adishen by Dr. Barth, and situated between 11 and 10° 40' north latitude, has been subjugated, and is at present allied with Bornu; but beyond these latitudes, to the south, all the country and its inhabitants were visited by the horrible proceedings of these neighbours. The inhabitants retreated southwards as their foe advanced, taking every thing with them, nothing but ghafuly and tobacco being found in the deserted villages. It was only in about 10° north latitude and 14° 35' east longitude that the army came up with some of the Musgos and their numerous herds of cattle. Here, also, it was that Dr. Vogel saw spread out before him an immense lake stretching to the south as far as the eye could reach, and which he calls the Lake of Tubori.

" Behind this lake and its marshy banks the Musgos had halted, believing themselves secure in this position; but, to their amazement, they soon saw the Sheikh's cavalry cross the lake at a narrow part, where it was only three-quarters of a mile broad and about six feet deep. A great number of the horses and riders perished in the attempt; but those who succeeded in gaining the opposite shores captured about 1500 slaves, all women and children under twelve years of age, as well as about 2000 head of cattle. The men were not taken as slaves, but at once killed; a

few being brought to the encampment alive, only to die a most cruel and horrible death. No great value is set upon the Musgo women as slaves, owing to their being horribly disfigured by a round piece of wood, one and a half inch in diameter, which they wear in both their lips. One of these poor creatures may therefore be bought for about 10*l.*, and a child may be had for 2*l.* to 6*l.*, according to its age.

" From here the Bornuese marched eastward to the river Shary, devastating the country and villages wherever they went. After following the course of that river for two days, they crossed it at a comparatively shallow place, whereby they lost a great number of horses. Having reached the eastern side of the river, they captured, within a few hours, at least 2500 slaves of the Musgos, who also live there, as well as upwards of 4000 head of cattle. Thirty-six men were also brought into the camp; and, in the most revolting way, the Bornuese, with their blunt knives, cut off one arm at the elbow and one leg at the knee of each of these captives, who, thus horribly maimed, gradually bled to death. But this was not the worst torture inflicted on the unfortunate captives. The Musgos, living in an entirely naked state, are greatly affected by the rain and cool weather; their huts being also well built to afford them sufficient shelter during the rainy season. The rains, which commenced while the expedition began their return, namely, in the beginning of May, were of the most terrific description: every evening they were ushered in with thunder-storms and whirlwinds, or rather hurricanes, and they came down in torrents, such (says Dr. Vogel) as he had never witnessed before, or had any conception of. The captives lay huddled together in the camp—which, in those alluvial plains, was soon inundated and turned into a great pool—without any shelter or covering whatever, shivering with cold and suffering dreadfully. The consequence was, that dysentery and small-pox soon broke out among them in a fearful degree, and out of 4000 slaves not quite 500 reached Kuka, the rest having thus miserably perished on the road.

" When those diseases appeared in the camp, Dr. Vogel, who began to suffer, having for three weeks never had his clothes dry, nor been able to procure proper and nourishing food, hastened on to Kuka in advance of the army, and safely arrived at that place.

" The results of this journey of Dr. Vogel are extremely interesting; for, in addition to his astronomical and botanical surveys, which may be said to constitute his professional labours, nothing of any interest in every branch of natural science seems to escape his attention, being highly gifted with the powers of close observation. Perhaps the most important fact resulting from this journey is the extremely small elevation of the whole region traversed by Dr. Vogel, and extending upwards of 200 geographical miles S.S.E. from Kuka. Drs. Barth and Overweg, indeed, had previously, in unmistakeable terms, described that region as a great level plain, but absolute measurements of its elevation above the sea were hitherto wanting. This great central plain of Inner Africa, then, presents nowhere, as far as 9 $\frac{1}{2}$, north latitude (a

few isolated small granitic cones excepted) an elevation exceeding 950 feet. Dr. Vogel says, that in about 11°, north latitude, 120 miles from Kuka, he found, at a depth of twenty feet under the surface of the ground, the same layer, consisting of limestone and freshwater shells, which he met with at Kuka six feet under the ground; and he suggests that the whole region, extending thus for upwards of 100 miles S.S.E. from Kuka, was at one time occupied by Lake Tsad, when its limits extended greatly beyond its present ones. But whether this assumption be correct or not, the well-ascertained fact as to the slight elevation of that region, together with the results of the previous hypsometrical observations of Dr. Vogel and Dr. Overweg, as well as of the discoveries and acute estimates of Dr. Barth relating to altitudes, are well worthy consideration, as they completely upset our previous notions of African geography. It is well known that all our best authorities represent the Great Desert of Sahara, and nearly the whole of Northern Africa, as one vast plain, if not a dead level, at least one of very little elevation: whereas, immediately to the south of Lake Tsad, the existence of mountain ranges, alpine groups, highlands, and mighty table-lands of many thousand feet elevation, was asserted and taught us as well-established facts. Now, from the observations made by the members of the Expedition to Central Africa, this is found to be quite the reverse, and both features may be truly said to have changed places—an extensive table-land from 1000 to 2000 feet average elevation occupying the Sahara; whereas, on the other hand, the extensive basin of Lake Tsad and the river Shary forms a great interior depression, which attains its minimum elevation in the lake with 850 feet. On every side the basin of Lake Tsad is fringed with more or less elevated tracts, which separate it from the other hydrographical systems, as, for instance, those of the Nile and the Kowara. These new facts of the relative elevation of Inner Africa also explain to us many features connected with the physical configuration, the climate, botany, and zoology of the regions they refer to.

" The countries round Lake Tsad form an immense alluvial plain. Dr. Vogel, after leaving the oasis of Aghadem, situated upwards of 250 geographical miles north from Kuka, did not see a single rock or stone till he came to Waza, which lies upwards of 100 miles S.S.E. of Kuka; thus leaving an alluvial tract between the two points of upwards of 350 geographical miles in the heart of Africa. At Waza an isolated group of granitic cones rises almost perpendicularly out of the alluvial plain to the height of 400 feet above their basis.

" As to the hydrography of this region, Dr. Vogel had the opportunity to trace the Shary, its main stream, for a considerable distance. It was found by him in about 10° north latitude, about 2000 feet wide, and, at an average, 15 feet deep, it being then at the commencement of the rainy season. Here and there sand-banks extended across the river, leaving a depth of only six to eight feet. It ran with a current of four geographical miles per hour. From traces found by Dr. Vogel on its steep banks, he estimates it to rise to double its height (viz. thirty feet depth)

in the middle of the rainy season, and from the admeasurements made by him, this large river discharges no less than 140,000 cubic feet per second into Lake Tsad during that period of the year. Between the latitudes of 10° and 11° the natives call the river Arreh ; with the Bornuese it bearing, in general, the name of the ' river of Loggeneh.'

"The Lake of Tubori, already mentioned in the above, stretches from 10° north latitude and 14° 35' east longitude, in a diversion from north to south, to beyond the ninth parallel, in its wedge-like form, its width and depth increasing southwards ; so that in latitude 9° 30' north it is four miles wide, comprising numerous islands of an elongated form, densely peopled by Musgos and Tuboris. At its northern extremity, which is surrounded by large marshes, its depth is five or six feet, but in latitude 9° 30' north, it is twenty feet. The length from north to south Dr. Vogel believes to be no less than sixty to eighty geographical miles. Neither Dr. Barth nor Dr. Overweg has, so far as we are aware, alluded to this immense lake, though the country of the Tufuri (identical with Tubori) is shewn in Barth's Map. We think it, therefore, not unlikely that this great expanse of comparatively shallow water is of a periodical nature ; being enlarged, if not even caused, by the floods of the rainy season, like many other African lakes, Lake Tsad itself included. We know, besides, from those travellers, that the whole of that country is inundated yearly to a large extent. Dr. Vogel found the western banks of Lake Tubori to be lined by a granitic range of slight elevation, the basis on which they stand being from 940 to 980 feet above the level of the ocean.

"The country of the Tubori, or Tufuri, lies between the parallels of 9° and 10°, and between the meridian of 14° and 15° east longitude,* and is a rich, fertile country, and well cultivated. For four or five hours the Bornuese army at times marched through uninterrupted fields of ghafuly. Tobacco is also extensively cultivated, of which the natives seem very fond, especially the women, they being rarely seen without smoking a short pipe cleverly made of clay and straw. A quantity of fifty or sixty pounds of tobacco was commonly found in the huts of the natives. Extensive forests surround the Lake of Tubori, and consist chiefly of the Deleb palm, as it is called in Nubia. It is a magnificent tree, its crown not unlike that of the Doom palm, but larger, and the leaves of a bright green. The trunk is smooth ; the fruit is eight to nine inches long by six to seven inches thick, weighs about four or five pounds, is egg-shaped, of a deep yellow colour, and its juice reminds strongly of the pine-apple in its taste and odour. The height of these trees does not generally exceed forty feet.

"The whole dress of the Tuboris, both male and female, consists of a narrow strip of leather

bound round their loins, on which the women fasten a dense palm-branch, which, however, is not worn to cover them in front, but behind. The men are badly provided with weapons, they being generally armed only with a sharply-pointed stick and a club, rarely with a lance. Some possess horses, which are of a small growth, and which they ride without a saddle. A very singular custom was noticed by Dr. Vogel, as exhibited by the Tubori horsemen : when they go to battle, they are in the habit of scratching or cutting the skin of their legs, in order that the blood thus drawn would make them sit on the horse's back all the firmer.

"The habitations of the Tuboris are of a rounded shape, covered with a very dense and well-made roof of straw, and surrounded by a mud wall about five feet high. Four or five huts generally stand together, surrounded by an open space hedged in with thorn-bushes, and serving for the keeping of stores of corn, straw, wood, and other things. Every man keeps from four to five wives, and possesses a corresponding number of children : when provisions become scarce he sells his boys into slavery. The food of the Tuboris consists chiefly of ghafuly and fish ; they do not kill their cattle, but only eat what has died of disease or otherwise : swine are a dainty to them, as well as frogs and other reptiles. It may here be mentioned, that Dr. Vogel met with the common European hedgehog in latitude 10° north. In addition to despatches and maps on a large scale addressed to H.M. Foreign Office, Dr. Vogel has also sent, on this occasion, geological and botanical collections addressed to Sir Roderick Murchison, Sir W. J. Hooker, and Dr. Robert Brown.

"As to Dr. Vogel's plans of his further proceedings, he intended leaving Kuka before the end of July last for Adamaua, hoping to fall in with the Chadda Expedition, afterwards returning by way of Yakoba. By the end of the year he proposed starting for Waday : thence to try to penetrate towards the Indian Ocean ; and failing in this, to return to Europe about the end of the present year, *via* Darfur, Kordofan, and Egypt. It will be the wish of every person interested in these expeditions, that Dr. Vogel may choose the most speedy way of return, rather than to endanger his life by long-protracted travel and exertions, like his unfortunate predecessors.

"Dr. Vogel's communication respecting the rumour of Dr. Barth's death having been of a somewhat later date, namely, of the 18th of July, the present letters contain nothing fresh respecting that melancholy occurrence. The rumour he seems to have received from the nephew of Ali Lagran, a Bornuese, and chief servant to Dr. Barth. This personage is said to have sent two messengers from Kano to his nephew, who resides at Kuka ; but afterwards the former was said to have disappeared from Kano, and gone no one knew where. An ambassador of the Sultan of Sakatu to the Sheikh of Bornu, whom Dr. Vogel saw himself, had also heard of Dr. Barth's death, but nothing was known that can be considered as conclusive."

No one can read the foregoing account without pain. It proves the extent to which

* It will be remembered from our previous communications, that the longitude of Central Africa has been shifted about 100 miles further to the west by Dr. Vogel's observations than our previous observations had given.—[ED. *Athenaeum.*]

the trade in slaves is still carried on in the interior of Africa, and the miseries to which these poor unfortunate creatures are subjected during their transit across the country. There appears to be little doubt, that had these slaves survived, they would have been taken to Tripoli, to supply the Turkish market, as it is notorious that a considerable traffic is carried on from the North-African ports to Constantinople and other Turkish cities.

We may remind our readers that the subject of Slavery in Turkey and in Egypt occupied the attention of the recent Anti-slavery Conference, and we may add that the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have it under their consideration.

IMPRISONMENT OF COLOURED SEAMEN.

THIS important subject, to which we have from time to time adverted, has recently been under consideration in the Legislature of South Carolina. The report on the nature and the operation of this obnoxious enactment, and the Bill for its modification, submitted to the Legislature in December last, copies of which we subjoin, substantially corroborate all that we have written on this subject. The report admits not only the inhumanity, but the inutility of the law which has consigned so many free born British subjects to a life of Slavery in the Southern plantations. The *Times* of the 12th ultimo introduced the report and the Bill with the following paragraph:—

“We extract from a Charleston paper the following report of a committee, and copy of a Bill recently passed by the Legislature of South Carolina, upon a subject which has at different times caused much discussion. They are an important concession made to public opinion and common justice, and this by the very empire State of negro Slavery.”

Deeply do we regret to hear, from undoubted authority, that the Bill in question was not passed, as erroneously stated by the writer of the foregoing paragraph. It passed to a third reading in the Senate, but on its being read a second time in the Assembly, it was ordered to lie on the table: in other words, it was lost. Thus, after all that the Earl of Clarendon and Lord John Russell have said, of the positive intention of the Legislature of South Carolina to modify the law in question, we find that when a measure to that effect is proposed, it is quietly set aside, as though the personal liberty of Her Majesty’s subjects were of no account in the eyes of the Queen’s Ministers.

Before giving the Report and the Bill above referred to, it may be well to present an extract from a recent article in the *New-*

York Herald, a pro-slavery journal, which will shew that even the partisans of “the peculiar institution” anticipated with satisfaction the passing of the proposed measure.

“The Government of Great Britain next interposed, and put in a formal remonstrance before our Government against this free coloured sailors’ law, as infringing the international rights of Her Britannic Majesty’s free coloured subjects. This was a knotty question: it was too knotty even for Daniel Webster. The law did disturb the free ingress and egress of certain British subjects; but what could the State Department do with the local regulations of the sovereign and excitable State of South Carolina? and so Mr. Webster and the British Minister at Washington turned over the matter to Mr. George B. Mathew, then the British Consul at Charleston. Mr. Mathew, as a gentleman, and a man of general popularity in both his official and private relations in Charleston, was the very man for the business. At first, however, in his new character of special diplomat on this negro question, he was received with some coldness and distrust; but he held on, and gradually gained the promise of a hearing in the Legislature. Having thus faithfully accomplished all that he could do in this business, Mr. Mathew was removed to the Consulship of Philadelphia.

“Now comes this Bill before the South-Carolina Assembly, which provides that in lieu of the imprisonment of free coloured seamen in the ports of the said State during the detention of the ship to which they may belong, they shall remain on shipboard, if on board a ship driven in by accident or stress of weather, without special recognition; but if on board a regular trader, then a hundred dollars security shall be given for the safe detention of each free coloured employé on board, during the stay of the vessel. The Bill, we doubt not, will be passed. The present law, as a bit of active capital for the Abolitionists, will thus be taken away. Massachusetts, we hope, will thus be quieted, and Marcy relieved of a subject of diplomacy which was beyond the reach of even Daniel Webster.”

The following are copies of the Report of the Committee, and of the Bill which was proposed and rejected:

“House of Representatives, Columbia, Dec. 7.

“The Committee on Coloured Population, to whom was referred so much of the Message No. 1 of His Excellency the Governor as relates to the imprisonment of free persons of colour, employed as mariners or otherwise on board of vessels trading with our ports, ask leave to report—

“That they have given the subject that careful consideration which the high authority from which the recommendation proceeds and its own intrinsic importance seemed to them to demand. The statute of 1835, now in force, was enacted under circumstances which induced a belief that those who were opposed to our domestic peace might have in their employment this class of persons, as emissaries, in carrying out their designs against our safety. There can be no doubt as to the right of the State to enact laws of this character. It is not the right we propose to consider, but the mode and manner of enforcing

it. All nations have the right of protecting themselves by police laws and provisions excluding from their borders those who may be regarded as dangerous to their internal peace and security. It is unnecessary to refer to the passport system of Europe, and other arrangements which foreign Powers have imposed. It is on the principle of self-defence that such right is so claimed, maintained, and enforced; and in some of the States of this confederacy this principle is carried so far as to exclude entirely from their borders a certain class of our population. But it becomes a matter for consideration, while asserting an undoubted right, whether we may not transcend the limits of humanity, or at least of expediency, which a just regard for the opinion of the world, as well as our own sense of propriety, would forbid.

" We cannot deny that the operation of our law is particularly harsh in some of its features. Whether entering our ports voluntarily or driven there by accidents beyond their control—whether designedly or by the act of God—no discrimination is made; all alike come under its operation, and are, immediately on touching our soil, incarcerated in our common gaols, and treated as malefactors. It is surely a spectacle not to be desired, nor do we believe our safety requires it, that on the arrival of any vessel, whether trading intentionally with our ports, or compelled to seek shelter there, either by tempest or disease, that this class of persons be at once hurried into prison. Such a course would seem to indicate a sense of insecurity on our part which we persuade ourselves does not exist. Feeling too confident in our right, and in the security which we enjoy under it, to regard any such rigorous course at all necessary, we besides believe that the present regulations are rather mischievous in their tendency, than conducive to the good order of our towns. It has been long observed, that under the present regulations this class is at once afforded the best opportunities for mischievous interference, and prompted to efforts of this description by the supposed wrongs inflicted on them.

" Your Committee are of opinion that the present regulations of our law are not only unnecessarily harsh, but that they are, to a great extent, inefficient for the purposes designed. They are fully convinced that they may be modified with entire security, and think that this is called for as well by our experience of their inefficiency as from a desire to exhibit that spirit of comity which we would wish to cultivate with foreign Powers. With these views your Committee would report the accompanying Bill, and recommend its adoption by the House.

" Respectfully submitted,

" J. HARLESTON READ, Jun.,
" Chairman of the Committee of
" Coloured Population."

" In the House of Representatives, Dec. 7, 1854.
" A Bill to amend an Act entitled 'An Act more effectually to prevent Free Negroes and other Persons of Colour from entering into this State, and for other Purposes,' passed 19th day of December, Anno Domini 1835.

" 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives, now met and sitting

in general assembly, and by the authority of the same, that free negroes and persons of colour brought into this State in any vessel not bound to any port in this State, but which shall be driven into any port of this State by stress of weather, or compelled to enter therein by mutiny, or other cause which makes said entry involuntary on the part of those controlling the said vessel, shall be, and the same are hereby declared, from and after the passing of this Act, exempt from the operation of an Act entitled 'An Act more effectually to prevent Free Negroes and other Persons of Colour from entering into the States, and for other purposes,' passed on the 19th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1835, and all other Acts subjecting such persons to imprisonment; provided that such free negroes and persons of colour so brought into any port of this State shall remain on board the vessel in which they shall be introduced, or such other place as may be selected for their accommodation by the mayor or chief magistrate of the municipal corporation or State magistrate.

" 2. That from and after the passing of this Act, whenever any free negro, or person of colour, shall come into this State in any vessel not driven into a port of this State by stress of weather, or compelled to enter therein by mutiny or other cause which makes said entry involuntary on the part of those controlling said vessels, as a cook, steward, mariner, or any other employment on board such vessel, it shall be the duty of the master, owner, or person having control of such vessel, immediately on his arrival in port, to report to the mayor or other chief municipal officer, and if there be no such officer, then to the nearest magistrate, the name, description, and capacity of any such free negro, or free person of colour, and shall enter into bond to the mayor or other chief municipal officer, or magistrate aforesaid, with two sufficient sureties, being freeholders, in the sum of 100 dollars for each, conditioned that each and every such free negro, or person of colour, shall remain on board of such vessel, and shall in all respects obey the laws of the said State and ordinances and regulations of the city or port of entry; and further, that no slave or free persons of colour, residing either permanently or temporarily in said city or port of entry, shall be allowed to go on board of such vessel in any capacity whatsoever, except under the authority and under such restrictions as may be imposed by such mayor, or other chief municipal officer or magistrate aforesaid; and such bond shall be deposited with such mayor or chief municipal officer or magistrate aforesaid, to be sued upon in case such conditions shall not be observed and performed; and in case of suit and recovery upon any such bond, half of the amount recovered shall go to the informer, who is hereby, notwithstanding his interest, declared a competent witness, and half, in case the said bond be taken by a municipal officer, to the Treasury of the said city or port of entry, otherwise the half to be paid into the public treasury.

" 3. That a compliance with the regulations of this Act on the part of the master, owner, or person in control of any vessel entering into any port within the State, within twelve hours after entering said port, shall exempt the free negroes and persons of colour, as aforesaid, in said

vessel, from the provisions of the second section of the Act aforesaid, entitled 'An Act more effectually to prevent Free Negroes and other Persons of Colour from entering into this State, and for other purposes ;' provided, nevertheless, that if the master, owner, and person in control fail to comply with the requisitions of this Act, or if the free negroes and persons of colour entering as aforesaid shall fail to remain on board said vessel, then said free negroes and persons of colour entering as aforesaid shall be, as heretofore, subject in all respects to the provisions of the Act aforesaid, passed on the 19th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1835.

" 4. It shall be the duty of the sheriff, and in case there be no sheriff, or he be absent, the chief municipal officer of the city or port of entry, or if no such municipal officer, then the nearest magistrate of the district in which such port is situated, on the arrival of any such vessel as aforesaid, to go on board the same, and ascertain whether the above provisions have been complied with ; and for such service he shall receive a fee of one dollar from the captain of the vessel examined for each free negro and person of colour found therein."

The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have recently issued a tract bearing the same title as this article, and embracing the whole question, which our friends would do well to read.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.
WE extract the following from our latest American files :

SLAVERY DEBATE IN CONGRESS.—On the 13th of December last, Mr. Mace, of Indiana, brought in a Bill to prohibit Slavery in Kansas and Nebraska, the terms of which are as follows :—“ Be it enacted, &c., That Slavery and involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime, whereof the parties shall have been duly convicted, is for ever prohibited in the territories of Nebraska and Kansas.” The speech of Mr. Mace was practical, earnest, and to the point. Mr. Oliver, of Missouri, followed, expressing astonishment at the introduction of such a measure. Mr. Washbourne, of Maine, in a few words, reminded the slaveholders that the Nebraska-Kansas Bill was not accepted by the North as a finality, and gave them to understand that the people there were serious in their demands for redress.

The *National Era* of the 21st December last remarks, in reference to the Bill introduced by Mr. Mace, “ We wish it were broader in its terms, so as to be applicable to all the territory belonging to the United States. Let no one say that there is no necessity for a Bill so comprehensive in its character. Do we not all know that negotiations are now on foot, or completed, for the annexation of the Sandwich Islands ? Is there not a Bill now before the Senate of the United States for the organization of the three Indian territories south of thirty-seven degrees, with a view to their ultimate formation into slave States ? Are there not slaves at this time in Utah, and is

not New Mexico every moment open to the intrusion of the system ? Have we forgotten that one part of the scheme of the Slavery propaganda is to divide California, and erect its Southern portion into a slave territory ? And shall we overlook their designs upon Central America, Cuba, and Dominica ? Why, then, confine ourselves to partial measures of prevention ?

A PRO-SLAVERY MEMBER ELECTED AT KANSAS.—The following is from the *Baltimore Sun*, a pro-slavery journal : “ The election here for a Delegate to Congress occasioned a high degree of excitement. General Whitfield, the pro-slavery Candidate, is said to have been elected. So far as the number of votes cast in his favour may go to give him the election, he has it. But he was not elected by the people of Kansas. Before the near approach of the time of election, no sign could be discerned by the most observant indicating any thing else than the success of the Anti-slavery party. The Governor of the territory, and all his personal and political friends, were on that side, together with two out of every three persons in all parts of the territory. But within a day or two of the election, the country began to swarm with Missourians. They were for the most part a most unseemly and reckless set of men. They seemed to be organized in separate parties, under the command of particular leaders, each party designed to operate at specific localities. The polls, in every district except two, were surrounded and taken possession of, the moment they were opened, by these insolent invaders. They threatened and intimidated the judges ; crowded out and violently drove off all those who were suspected of being in favour of any candidate but their own, and put their own votes into the ballot-box at the point of the revolver. They openly declared that none should approach the ballot-box except those who intended to vote for Whitfield.”

The *New-York Tribune*, remarking on the above statement, says : “ Kansas must yet be saved. Next spring must witness an emigration thither from the free States, not by hundreds merely, but by thousands ; and the next House will have a majority of Representatives who will admit no Delegate chosen by such a monstrous fraud as that which returned Whitfield. The struggle is only begun.”

PIERCE'S DIPLOMACY IN DOMINICA.—The treaty concluded and signed on October 5, 1854, on the part of the United States by General Cazneau, and on the part of the Dominican Republic by two Special Commissioners appointed for that purpose, has been published by the Dominican Government. The United States' Ambassador, however, has since addressed a note to the Dominican Minister of Foreign Affairs, withdrawing this very hard-got treaty. It has usually been supposed that a contract of that sort, when once duly discussed, agreed upon, signed, and sealed, cannot be withdrawn by the agents who framed it, but is thenceforth subject only to the decision of their respective Governments. The withdrawal of the treaty is said to have been ordered by no less a personage than Mr. Secretary Marcy himself. When the docu-

ment reached Washington, it was found that it authorised the settlement and residence of American citizens in Dominica, and guaranteed to Americans in that country all the privileges conferred on subjects of most favoured nations reciprocally binding on the American Government with respect to Dominicans. Thus we are bound by this treaty to allow the blacks of Dominica every privilege and right in any part of the United States that we grant to any white foreigner. Along with this concession on our part, it is true that a naval station on the Bay of Samana is secured to us; but this was not enough to command the treaty, and to allay the fears of abolition and amalgamation which it caused at once in the bosom of Mr. Marcy, who determined to withhold it from the Senate, and to have the Ambassador attempt to take it back if possible.—*New-York Tribune.*

Advertisements.

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EDITED BY

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THIS narrative will present a faithful picture of slave life on the Cotton, Tobacco, and Rice Plantations of the South. It will also embrace some interesting details relating to the internal Slave-Trade, and to the system of Negro stealing, with minute particulars of the Slave Auctions and Slave-pens of Virginia, New Orleans, &c. After three unsuccessful attempts, the subject of this narrative effected his escape, having endured many years of suffering, under various masters, and been twice "willed away," and three times sold. The object of publishing this account of his life, sufferings, adventures, and escape, —apart from that of diffusing information—is to raise a sum sufficient to enable him to settle either on the West Coast of Africa, or in one of the West-India islands, to cultivate cotton, and to prove, in his own person, that it can be produced so as to remunerate those who raise it. He proposes to labour with his own hands, and is only anxious to render himself independent by that labour, and to demonstrate that the Negro is as capable of self-exertion, and of elevating himself, as

his more favoured white brother, needing only the same incentives.

The Editor will be glad to reply to any communications that may be addressed to him relating to John Brown.

N. B. This volume is issued from the Office of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, No. 27, New Broad Street, London; and Booksellers and Subscribers are respectfully solicited to forward their orders to the Editor, addressing as above.

The Editor thinks it due to himself to state that, owing to John Brown's absence from London, the press had to be stopped, as it was necessary that the proofs should be read to him. This circumstance caused a delay which the Editor much regrets, as the narrative has been extensively in demand.

ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS.

THE Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have just issued two Tracts: one on the *Imprisonment of Coloured Seamen*, the other on the *Relation of the American Churches to Slavery*. It will be remembered that at the recent Anti-slavery Conference resolutions were passed on both these subjects. The Committee have thought they could not better carry out the views they then expressed than by the publication of these tracts at the present time. The one on coloured seamen embraces the whole question as it at present stands, including the case of John Glasgow, as given in the July *Reporter* for 1853, and the Declaration before a notary public made by John Brown, Glasgow's companion in Slavery. The second tract contains the Address to Churches, issued by the Committee of the *Anti-Slavery Society* in 1853, with subsequent addresses and articles.

The latter of these Tracts is published at 1*d.*, or 7*s. 6d.* per hundred, the former at 3*d.*, and may be had at the Office of the *Anti-Slavery Society*, 27, New Broad Street, London. They will be found very useful for distribution at Public Meetings.

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

BOUNDED Copies of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for 1854 may now be had, price 4*s.* each, on application to the Editor, at 27 New Broad Street.

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London: 27 New Broad Street, City; where all orders should be sent.